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ABSTRACT

A selection of essays deals with current issues in American higher education, offering a variety of views. Essays include an overview of contemporary higher education, and discussions of: changes in typical college curricula; changes in the college calendar and their effects on curriculum; the present status of nontraditional studies; the growth and impact of consortia; the state of college admissions; the impact of faculty unions and collective bargaining; recent court decisions affecting faculty hiring and termination; the state of the art of trusteemanship; patterns of private financial support; and comprehensive (as contrasted with piecemeal) change as part of the future of American higher education. The work is addressed to educators, laymen, and students. (MSE)

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RESHAPING AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

First Edition

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FOREWORD

Only rarely does one have the opportunity of gaining new insights into lingering dilemmas haunting our educational institutions. Our libraries are filled with an abundance of literature recounting the issues and lamenting the problems. Louis Vaccaro, in this series of essays, provides the reader with a stimulating look at the old issues and presents fresh approaches to enhancing the quality of education for all persons.

An experienced college administrator, Vaccaro perceives the perplexities, and has sought the observations and vision of educators with rewarding results. The topics vary from curriculum and the college calendar to collective bargaining and fund-raising. Many of the descriptions are sufficiently specific to be helpful and push the readers to think more thoughtfully in the consideration of ways in which they can advance their own leadership. Very little more could be desired from an evening's reading.

A number of years ago Paul Mort complained that it took twenty-five years for a new idea to penetrate the educational academy and another twenty-five years to be embraced. The speed with which innovative ideas have recently been installed in schools and colleges alarms even the iconoclasts among us. Efforts to reform the educational institutions of our nation are numerous. It is difficult and time-consuming to become familiar with the diverse number of changing procedures, and more difficult to assess their effectiveness. All too often an educational innovation fails to accomplish the desired and cherished objectives. Faculty are disappointed, students frustrated, and parents disillusioned. An analysis of such failures suggest that many attempts to bring about change are in the form of isolated factors not in harmony with other elements of the construct, and the momentum of the system tends to reject a transplant. Educational reform, to be significant and successful, must be in harmony with the entire institution and relate effectively to all aspects of the total system. A full rationale must be developed for each proposed change that is consistent with the premises and strategies already in operation. It is the attention to such a philosophy that makes this collection of essays of value.

The authors quickly draw upon their scholarship, research, and experience to define the current problems and synthesize effectively the status of the art. Promptly, and without verbosity, the selected essays project the reader into the consideration of ways to move forward and capitalize on many current practices. One is not allowed to wallow in despair at the inadequacies of the past, but is hurled into a consideration of what can be — not in Utopian generalizations but in carefully considered extensions of current knowledge.

The essays dramatically, and through reinforcement, compel the reader to think anew concerning Barnard Luskin's observation that new

ways must be developed to deliver education to students. One cannot do new things very effectively with traditional mechanisms. "What is needed are new methods, not new institutions." Vaccaro, through his knowledge and choice of essays, has provided the reader with new methods.

Gene L. Schwilck
President
The Danforth Foundation

February 3, 1975

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Editor's Introduction

Students of American higher education as well as interested observers are aware that America's colleges and universities are changing dramatically. Not only the student movement, but the broader social revolution also has had a profound impact on every facet of higher education. The question is, "What are the specific forces that are causing this change and what impact are they having on the shape of American higher education?"

Those who teach in our colleges know only too well the dramatic transformation that has taken place in the curriculum and in student life styles during the past decade. While administrators point to the internal and external factors that complicate their responsibilities, trustees sigh under the weight of new legal and financial demands thrust upon them by unsympathetic publics. No doubt about it — change has taken place in higher education, and the ivory tower, if there ever was one, now tilts precariously.

The essays in this volume do not purport to treat every factor that has been affected or that makes itself felt within the arena of change. Rather, they are an attempt to present an array of views held by individuals associated with college and university life in order to clarify key issues, crystalize certain events, and offer the reader some insight into the question of how American higher education has changed, the factors that have brought that change about, and what is ahead.

In the first essay, Louis C. Vaccaro, President of Colby-Sawyer College, surveys the contemporary scene and some recent changes, and attempts to predict what American higher education will look like by the mid-1980's.

A more specific look is provided by Wallace K. Ewing, Dean of the College at Colby-Sawyer College, who comments on the changes that have occurred in the typical college curriculum and discusses their significance.

Another concentrated look at one area of change — this one structural — is provided by Jack L. Armstrong, President of Bradford College and H. Bradley Sagen, Professor at the University of Iowa. Their essay presents an interesting look at how curricular renewal is closely related to modification of the college calendar.

The next two essays give the reader an opportunity to gain some understanding of two relatively new innovations on the American scene. The steady growth of non-traditional studies is treated by Eugene E. DuBois, Executive Associate of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges and Fredrick A. Ricci, Assistant Professor at the

University of Maryland. They discuss the present status of non-traditional studies and show how they have already changed the traditional view of collegiate education.

Then, Donald A. Johnson, Director of the Quad-Cities Graduate Studies Center in Rock Island, Illinois, provides a fascinating account of the growth and impact of consortia in the United States with several examples of working models.

The effect of many of these changes is commented on next by Robert S. Aisner, a former Director of Admissions and now Manager of the Eastman Pond Community in New Hampshire, in his essay dealing with the current and future college admissions scene.

The following two essays deal with two highly important and volatile matters associated with those who teach within the academy. Professor Harold I. Goodwin of West Virginia University discusses the impact of faculty unions and collective bargaining on American higher education and provides a number of interesting insights into what the future holds. The question of faculty tenure and the impact of some recent Court decisions concerned with the issue is ably handled by Professor Victor G. Rosenblum of Northwestern University. His essay treats in detail the recent Supreme Court decisions that have had and continue to have a profound effect on faculty hiring and termination policies.

Some consequences of the above forces are then discussed by Francis C. Pray, noted educational consultant, in his essay dealing with college and university trusteemanship.

The eventual result of many of these factors and changes is taken into account by Robert J. Finney of Dartmouth College in his essay dealing with changing patterns in fund raising and alumni giving.

Concluding the collection of essays, Fred and Jan Jervis of the Center for Constructive Change at Durham, New Hampshire provide a fascinating look at an alternative way of viewing change and suggest a new model for meeting and solving the problems commented on by the other authors.

Not all the authors who have contributed to this volume would agree with each other regarding the severity or consequences of the changes occurring on the American college campus. This is as it should be. What they have attempted to do is to provide an in depth view of their own areas of concern and to suggest what the effect of changes occurring within them will have on the future shape of American higher education. Collectively, they bring the reader a personal, up-to-date observation of the college scene and a dimensional study that is needed in these fast changing times.

It is hoped that this volume will inform educators, laymen and students of some of the pivotal forces reshaping American higher education and serve as a resource for their further study of its attendant problems.

L.C.V. New London, New Hampshire

LOUIS C. VACCARO

The Future Shape of American Higher Education

Louis C. Vaccaro is President of Colby-Sawyer College. The author of numerous articles, he has edited two other books including *Student Freedom in American Higher Education.*

There is little argument with the observation that American higher education is undergoing a radical change in character. Although change always has been a part of the warp and woof of our colleges and universities, the changes now occurring within academe have never been so dramatic or, for that matter, so far reaching.

It is my observation that our entire system of higher education is being reshaped along wholly new lines. To show the validity of this contention I will survey some of the most salient forces which impinge on American higher education, and discuss the significance of these forces as they relate to the *future* shape of our colleges and universities.

The fundamental starting point of my analysis is the contention that these forces, both internal and external, have had and continue to have a dramatic and visible impact on our entire higher educational enterprise. This impact is most evident when one contrasts present academic practices, governance patterns and numerous other related practices with those that existed only ten to fifteen years ago.

When one reviews the dizzying pace of social and technological change that has taken place in American society since 1950, it is easy to understand that the American college and university could not help but change.

External/Internal Changes

The American ideal of democratic education began to be realized in the early 1900's. What was once an elitist system of higher learning

suddenly lunged headlong toward an egalitarian ideal of democratic education.

Frederick Rudolph, noted historian, in recounting this rapid move states:

> Between 1890 and 1925 enrollment in institutions of higher education grew four to seven times as fast as the population. The release from aristocratic ideals implicit in such a statistic was perhaps the most dramatic fact about the course of American higher education in the twentieth century. The road from the Yale Report of 1828 to the University of Nebraska course offering of 1931 was paved with the bodies of friends of the old-time colleges who tried to hold them true to intellectual and social ideals that could not adequately serve a democratic society.[1]

Most applauded this egalitarian movement, but there were those who lamented the fact. Professor Rudolph quotes a young Cambridge graduate studying at Yale in the 1930's: "The best point about the American college is that it is popular. The worst point about it is the same one."[2]

While the early 1900's saw dramatic changes in the concept of American higher education, it took the post-war years and the civil rights movement of the late 1950's and early 1960's to illustrate the extent of higher education's involvement in the upward social and economic mobility of America's citizens. We are well aware that the sons and daughters of immigrants flocked to the college and university campuses in increasing numbers, but the past ten to twelve years have witnessed increased enrollments of racial and ethnic minorities. This influx of racial and ethnic minority students has caused dramatic changes in the college curriculum, financial aid practices, admissions standards and other rules and regulations which have influenced, and will continue to influence, the character and shape of our colleges and universities.

As our institutions of higher education attract a more diverse student body, not only in terms of socio-economic backgrounds but also in terms of age groups, institutions will be forced to introduce many more changes to accommodate the diverse aspirations and life styles of their "new clientele."

In discussing the need for colleges to adapt to the new clientele, Donald Godbold warns of the range of new characteristics we are likely to witness when they enroll:

> The new students will include those who cannot immediately adapt to the traditional methods of instruction; those whose personal situations are not accommodated by the typical school day; those whose linguistic and cultural problems transcend present approaches to visual and oral communication; those who have an aversion to the college campus for cultural or other reasons; those

who are aged and for whom the college campus is inaccessible; those who are college graduates and post-graduates whose concern is for new information rather than college credits; those who are interested in immediate short-term retraining and job upgrading; those whose anxiety about the attainment of education overpowers their motivation to attempt its acquisition; and those for whom the entanglements of their personal lives infringe upon their studies.[1]

As our colleges and universities prepare to meet the educational aspirations of these new students, there will be inevitable stresses and strains related to the need for new courses of study, different student personnel services, and, indeed, our traditional concept of what a college should be and do and what it should not be or do.

One important point of increased strain and pressure is the particular system of governance under which each college and university chooses to operate. Where authority was once firmly established in the hands of a relatively select few, it is now well dispersed among competing and often adversary factions.

The board of trustees itself has undergone dramatic changes. Many boards of trustees, both in two-year and four-year institutions, now include faculty and student members as full trustees. While not all such members have full voting privileges, many do.

This change in the composition of boards of control will surely have an impact on the topics discussed at their meetings, to say nothing of the priorities given to heretofore neglected items in budgeting and planning. With wider representation on boards of control, improved communication and decision making will likely materialize. The board will also become more action oriented and more interested in how the college is meeting its objectives.

The internal governance structures of colleges and universities have also undergone dramatic changes. Where power was once vested in the office of the president and dean, it is today diffused and distributed among faculty, students, staff and alumni. One of the most common forms of these new governance structures is the senate. The senate is a broadly-based campus body charged with helping to govern the college or university. Such bodies are intended to bridge the traditional divisions between faculty, students and administrators. In some instances they have final decision-making authority while in others their function is primarily advisory. Such arrangements have already had a dramatic impact on changing the traditional relationships that have existed between faculty and students and faculty and administration. That is to say, campus power is now more likely to be earned than ascribed.

There are many variations of the makeup of the senate, spanning purely consultative or advisory bodies to true policy making groups. A study completed at the University of California, Berkeley, surveyed the national population of colleges and universities to determine the extent of their involvement in campus governance arrangements. Professor

Hodgkinson, in commenting on one interesting variation of the senate, states:

> An interesting variation of the campus senate was what might be called the "placebo senate," in which an informal group of people, representatives of many campus groups, met regularly with the president of the institution, not as a legislative group but rather as an advisory body. These groups, usually called the president's council, may serve a useful purpose by providing direct communication with the president. The importance of influence (advice-giving) should not be overlooked.[4]

It is clear that such governing units are offered as alternatives to faculty unions and special student groups which seek to further the economic, political and social interests of their members. To the extent that broadly-based campus senates gain popularity and effectiveness, our colleges and universities will take on a more democratic and less adversary shape; and relations among the institution's constituencies will produce more harmony and cooperation. Where such senates are effective, one can expect less turmoil on campuses.

The increased involvement of state and federal agencies in the operation of our colleges and universities is also having a visible impact on their shape and direction. The future promises more direct involvement of federal and state agencies in campus affairs.

A dramatic example of this involvement is the number of agencies concerned with ensuring compliance with the civil rights legislation. Colleges and universities have already changed dramatically as a result of the new hiring and admissions quotas required by HEW. The future will surely witness more changes in hiring practices, wage policies, campus life styles and other personnel policies, which taken together will have a lasting effect on the shape and character of our colleges and universities.

There is also mounting evidence that both the state and federal government will become more involved in the financing of higher education. We are already witnessing dramatic gestures and actions concerned with broadening the basis of financial support for students wishing to further their education. Along with this increased involvement will come the demand for stricter accountability. These and other pressures and changes, exerted largely from outside the campus, promise to further change the character and mission of our colleges and universities. No longer will we be able to refer to these institutions as isolated ivory towers. Rather it will be more accurate to describe them as embattled bastions of thought *and* action.

While the external forces continue to exert pressure for change from the outside, there are equally strong forces within the academy that are having an impact on the shape of American higher education. By this I mean the changes occurring in programs, degree requirements, faculty

promotion and tenure policies, and many other factors related to the day-to-day operation of our colleges and universities.

Indeed, it is my view that most of the internal changes we are witnessing are having such a dramatic effect on our higher educational institutions that it is no longer possible to recognize our system as purely "American." Some of the changes recently introduced have been borrowed or patterned from educational systems abroad.

Surveys of the many changes that have taken place during the past five to eight years and talks with faculty members, students and administrators across the country indicate that society is witnessing a transformation of our total system of higher education. Emerging from this process is a model reflective of European colleges and universities — in a sense, a "Europeanizing" of American higher education. This transformation is characterized by a gradual but definite shift in responsibility from a rigid system in which the college requires detailed adherence to minute degree and course requirements to a flexible system in which the student is responsible for and, in some ways, shapes his own program of study.

European institutions of higher education have long thought that the responsibility for fulfilling degree requirements rested with students, not with professors. Hence, requirements for class attendance, reading assignments and the like were the sole responsibility of students. Not so in this country, where class cuts and calendar days made policemen of teachers while the student waited patiently to be told what, where, when, and how. This move toward more student-directed responsibility in fulfilling course and degree requirements is further exemplified by the recent introduction of the College Level Examination Program (CLEP) whereby students demonstrate their level of attainment and knowledge through examinations rather than through tests, papers, reading assignments, recitations, and class attendance. Here, again, the European colleges and universities have long insisted that students could demonstrate their knowledge and attainments by presenting themselves for final exams when they are ready.

Another more recent and dramatic indication of the shift to the European style is the move to shorten the time necessary to complete work for the bachelor's degree. Both the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education publications and the Newman reports have suggested the possibility of reducing from four to three years the time necessary to obtain the bachelor's degree. Some colleges and universities have already initiated three-year degree programs and more are studying ways to shorten the time required to fulfill requirements.

Indeed, the plan in use at Simon's Rock in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, indicates that a more drastic revision of the traditional bachelor's degree may be forthcoming. Simon's Rock, an experimental collegiate institution, will confer the baccalaureate degree on those students who successfully complete requirements combining the last two years of high school with two years of college. Students are accepted at

Simon's Rock after completing grade ten.

This pattern is reminiscent of those European colleges and universities where students graduating from secondary school complete a post-secondary course of study culminating in the bachelor's degree. Professional and graduate studies then follow, usually in the university. The University of Chicago during the Hutchins' years undertook a similar experiment where bright high school students were able to complete secondary school and collegiate studies in a combined two-plus-two arrangement.

Implicit in all these arrangements is the assumption that capable students should be allowed to complete their studies at their own pace and present themselves for examinations in less time than the usual four years. These dramatic advances in academic affairs are accompanied by a relaxation of the parietal rules and regulations that placed institutions *in loco parentis*.

Indeed, alterations in student-life regulations and living codes have been so dramatic that many graduates are shocked to learn of the number and extent of changes that have taken place since they were on campus. The moves toward more intimacy, more personal responsibility, and more responsible living arrangements have taken place in the large multiversities, as well as in the small residential colleges. Institutions such as Michigan State University, the University of California at Santa Cruz, and others have initiated living-learning arrangements similar to those of the English residential college. Such experimental colleges place heavy stress on close student-faculty contact, more individual responsibility for developing a program of studies, more reliance on mature living-learning arrangements, and, generally, more personal responsibility for education.

It is becoming increasingly evident that society will witness greater movement toward flexibility for students to fashion their own programs and away from structured requirements. The growing popularity of the 4-1-4 calendar is another indication of a move toward a system where students may study or "read" a single subject for a specified period, perhaps one or two months, after which they may "sit" for the final examination. There is also more experimentation with other types of academic calendars including the 1-1-1-1 and the 2-3-2-3-2. With the move away from the prescribed lock-step curriculum, it seems likely that we will begin to refer to students as first year, second year and third year rather than as freshmen, sophomores, and so on, thus removing any stigma attached to the inability to matriculate at the "normal" pace.

A number of new institutions have sprung up during the past few years which emphasize demonstrated student competence by allowing under-graduate degrees to be earned in less than four years. Many of these institutions, plus hundreds of more traditional colleges and universities, are also accepting CLEP scores to determine the competence level of students. These and similar new ways to evaluate student progress

provide greater flexibility and freedom for students to drop out and drop in at various intervals in their studies.

Greater Diversity

Increased flexibility also promotes a greater diversity in the college population. The trend toward diversity among college students encompasses a greater variety of socio-economic classes and ethnic groups as well as different age groups. Increasingly, persons are combining academic studies with work and vocations, not only through formal work-study internships, but also through off-campus extension courses and in-plant training sessions. The formal relationship of the College of New Rochelle with New York's District Council 37, AFL-CIO is evidence that those who have traditionally been "outside" the academy now want greater access to higher education. Those who planned the "DC 37 Campus," as it is called, felt the need to redefine the traditional B.A. in terms that would make sense to contemporary working adults. These and other innovations to meet the true needs of more people for higher education have already reshaped thinking about collegiate studies. This reshaping is definitely directed along the lines of an eclectic European model of higher education.

The key word here is eclectic, since the reshaping is not following a one-to-one pattern. That is, American colleges and universities are not adopting everything "European" from their counterparts, but only selected modes and practices. In fact, some rather important characteristics of European higher education have been rejected outright by the American system. This is to be expected since most European societies embrace a more cohesive set of values than does the United States. This is particularly true as regards education and social standing.

It has long been recognized that most systems of higher education in European countries rest on an elitist concept: only the intellectual elite are allowed to go on to higher studies. The less intellectually endowed students are directed toward vocational occupations. However, signs indicate that some European countries are moving toward egalitarianism. As Europe achieves a higher level of technology and as individual European societies become more complex and affluent, greater demand for college and university training and for rescheduling priorities will surely follow.

This country has always prided itself on following an egalitarian ideal of higher education, although this ideal has not always been apparent in practice. It took events of major proportions to actualize the ideal: The Civil War, World War I, World War II, later industrialization, and the Korean GI Bill convinced skeptics that an egalitarian system would work. The present experiment in accommodating large numbers of blacks and other minority group students is the result of the civil rights and student activist movements of the early 1960's.

But essentially, the major thrust of innovation and change within American higher education is following the patterns established in European colleges and universities. The major move is toward more student

responsibility. There can be no doubt that the move away from *in loco parentis* and other forms of academic spoonfeeding are being applauded by students and faculty alike. Alumni and parental acceptance of these changes, however, remains another matter.

After the dust of the present revolution has settled, our colleges and universities will bear little resemblance to those of the 1950's. In a sense America stands at the threshold of unprecedented change and challenge. To ignore the opportunities for redefinition of our social and educational institutions is to invite moral backsliding.

The principles of personal freedom, equality of opportunity and democratic government can only be realized through the informed involvement and full participation of an educated populace. If citizens are to achieve the desired levels of participation and personal freedom, our institutions will have to discard the practices that make them instruments of the old order.

The future shape of American higher education can and will assume a more flexible, open, and egalitarian posture. As we approach the last two decades of this century a new era looms on the horizon. In speculating about this new time I am reminded of Professor Rudolph's statement on the post-Civil War reforms in American high education:

> The new era, which was about to dawn, would pass the old-time college by or perhaps convert it into a precious preserve of gentility or into a defiant outpost of denominationalism. In any case, it would never be the same again.[1]

These words ring true once more. The changes that are occurring remind us that American higher education will never be the same again.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 442.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Donald H. Godbold, "The Auraria Campus Response to the New Student," *An Agenda for National Action*, (American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1973), p. 68.

[4]Harold L. Hodgkinson, "Broadly-Based Senates: A First Report," The Research Reporter, (The Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, Berkeley, Volume VIII, Number 1, 1973), p. 7.

[5]Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 241.

WALLACE K. EWING

Reshaping the Curriculum: What It Means After All

Wallace K. Ewing received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois. He became Dean of the College at Colby-Sawyer College in 1972 having previously served as a Fulbright Lecturer in Tehran, Iran.

To point out that higher education is undergoing a variety of unpleasant stresses and strains hardly seems necessary. The mass media and the learned journals consistently carry reports and commentaries about what ails education at all levels; occasionally there are even suggestions for possible corrections. One aspect of higher education that has received its share of attention is the curriculum. The point of the commentaries may vary from writer to writer, but there is no doubt that some aspect of "curriculum" is the target. The amount of time and space devoted to the critiques has been rather large, yet the question remains, what is the real impact of the suggested changes on the shape and character of higher education? Has anything substantive and enduring developed from the reforms?

As a former student who ran the academic track in assorted fieldhouses (and in various degrees of breathlessness) and as a present teacher and administrator, I am especially aware of the need for change in college curriculums. Perhaps it is significant that the word curriculum derives from the Latin word meaning race, race course, or lap. Students, graduate as well as undergraduate, might only add that "hurdle" should be part of the current definition, if not the etymology! In this essay I will use curriculum to refer to the academic track the student must run from the time he enters college until the time he departs with some sort of degree in hand. The reshaping refers to any modification of the track that has taken place in recent years at a particular institution; however, only a few samples of those modifications that are somewhat dramatic in scope and intent will be cited.

Until quite recently, most college curriculums were highly standar-

dized, patterned after the curriculum established at Harvard which had used Cambridge (England) as its model.[1] In general terms, completion of the standard, formal curriculum required four years of on-campus collegiate study, satisfactory completion of prescribed courses and electives, and the accumulation of a set number of semester credits, usually 120. Students selected a major subject plus one or more minors, and graduated with either a bachelor of arts degree or a bachelor of science degree. For the most part, the lecture system was the favored method of instruction. Knowledge was considered absolute, finite, and amenable to sequencing and segmentation. Instructional theory was quite simple: teachers had knowledge that students lacked; the teacher's job was to relay that knowledge to his students, and it was the student's job to absorb it. Presumably, the learning process was uniform among all students. They all pursued identical goals at the same rate of speed. The efficiency of the system was indicated by matching teacher input with student output; the closer the match, the more efficient the process (and the higher the grade). The classroom, of course, was teacher-centered.

A few years ago, however, educators and students began earnestly to inquire after the health of the established curriculum and its underlying assumptions. If the symptoms of discomfort were somewhat vague, the suggested cures tended to be rather definite: reshape the curriculum structure, the mechanical process of getting a degree. In general, there are four ways, or combinations of ways, by which the standard curriculum has been modified: (1) by reducing the number of credits and/or by changing the specific course requirements; (2) by shortening the calendar time required to get a degree (e.g., encourage students to go to summer school or to take heavier course loads); (3) by giving credit by examination for learning achieved through informal instruction or through life experiences; or (4) by combining some portions of the high school and college experiences. One or two examples of each of these structural modifications should suffice to convey the way they work.

Credit reduction seems to be reserved primarily for use by better than average students. For instance, Bethany College in Lindsborg, Kansas has a special program for "intellectually superior students" that requires only twenty-seven courses for graduation. No credit is given for college-level examinations and no more than four experience-based courses are accepted for credit. Students must maintain at least a "B" grade average to stay in the program. Similarly, the Columbian College of Arts and Sciences at George Washington University allows students to graduate after ninety semester hours of work, but half of that work must be at the "A" level. On the other hand, Immaculate Heart College in Los Angeles has no requirements except the accumulation of 124 credits which can be obtained through non-campus, non-course experiences; thus IHC abandons the prevailing concept of prescribed courses while it maintains the idea of a fixed number of credits. A variation of this flexibility is found at Webster College in St. Louis where full freedom of course selection is allowed *outside* the student's major field. At Ripon

College, students who maintain a 2.75 grade-point average and who carry 18-19 hours per semester may qualify for a reduced-credit degree program that requires only 112 hours for graduation. As at Bethany, no equivalency tests are allowed. Also, all courses must be taken in residence. The State University of New York at Geneseo has categorically reduced its credit requirements for the bachelor degree from 120 to 90 for all students, not only for those who are academically superior.

The time-shortened curriculum seems to be the most talked about reform that has been suggested, especially since the publication of the Carnegie Commission's 1971 report *Less Time, More Options*. One of the major recommendations of the Commission was the reduction of the baccalaureate curriculum by one full year.[2] In support of a time reduction, Ernest Boyer writes that " . . . there has been almost no comprehensive, thoughtful scrutiny of the concept that a college education should be anything but four years since Harvard was established in 1636. This belief is the most solidly lodged piece in the conventional wisdom of academia."[3] At Colby-Sawyer College, students may finish curriculums in business administration, music, theatre, or dance in three calendar years, but only if they complete some of the requirements during summers or if they take overloads during the regular academic year. Although time-shortening and credit-reduction would seem to complement each other, it appears that in most cases they do not. In fact, for some schools time-shortened has come to be synonymous with compressed. Summer school options and overloads have been available to qualified students for many years.

The third method of reform, giving credit through tests, is gaining rapid acceptance in American higher education. At the Columbian College of Arts and Sciences, referred to earlier, a student is allowed to offer up to thirty hours for credit and/or waiver of required courses out of the 120 hours needed for graduation. Staten Island Community College accepts up to thirty hours of credit for non-classroom experiences; the remaining ninety semester hours needed for graduation must be at the "C" level or better. Harvard has been granting credit through equivalency tests since 1955, and other well-known schools have been following this procedure for similar lengths of time. The College-Level Examination Program (CLEP) of the Educational Testing Service has made it easier for schools of all sizes to be more flexible in giving credit for standardized equivalency tests, in the form of both general examinations and subject examinations.

The least tried of the four means of reshaping the curriculum is in the area of high school to college articulation. In the New York state university system, three models are being experimented with: four years of high school and three years of college, three years of high school and four years of college, and three years of high school plus three years of college with a one year transitional period in between. SUNY at Albany matriculates twelfth graders as full-time college students. More common among colleges is the admittance of high school students into a limited

number of college courses on a selected basis. Dickinson College in Pennsylvania has had such a program since 1956.

There are serious reservations about some of the reforms that have been talked about and/or implemented. For instance, Derek Bok, president of Harvard, presents a number of arguments rejecting the basis upon which the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education builds its case for three year bachelor degree curriculums. Among his arguments, Bok points out that simply because students are receiving more education in the high schools does not necessarily mean there need be less education in the colleges, nor does the earlier physiological and social maturation of today's students have any apparent bearing on how long the undergraduate curriculum should be. Bok continues:

> What must be needed is a very different curriculum that tries explicitly to take account of the fact that the student body comprises a different population with a different set of aspirations than those attending the so-called prestige institutions from which all too many colleges and junior college curriculums are adapted at the present time.

Furthermore, Bok argues that students themselves seem to reject the time-shortened degree, and that the fourth year could be used as a time to obtain non-academic experiences.[4]

The *Chronicle of Higher Education* reports that few institutions are actually implementing a time-shortened curriculum: "So far, about 30 institutions have what they call three-year bachelor's programs and another 20 are in the planning stages . . ."[5] The *Chronicle* cites three reasons why the shortened calendar has received less than popular support: (1) faculty concern about academic quality; (2) student lack of interest; and (3) uncertainty about the financial impact, since time-shortening may not effect the savings to the institutions that was hoped for, and savings to the students may be relatively insignificant, if summer study is required.[6]

Students may be less than impressed by possible time reductions in degree programs, as Bok and the *Chronicle* indicate, but my own observation has been that students definitely are interested in the curriculum as a whole and will go to great lengths to obtain their degrees in spite of it rather than because of it. Requirements are indeed hurdles that the student can run around, if he is clever enough, as well as jump over. After confirming that students do pay little attention to the curriculums, Lewis Mayhew states, "There is evidence that students actually do fashion their own curricula and use instructional resources for their own ends, complying with instructor-imposed organization only out of superficial etiquette."[7] The problem of elasticity, Mayhew says, must be approached by different institutions in different ways, according to "the nature of the institution and its students."[8]

There are probably as many variations of curriculum reform as there

are colleges, particularly if reform is defined as any modification of the existing curriculum. I cannot help but question the long-range meaning of most current reforms on a number of grounds. For one, there is no longer an "ideal," "perfect," or "Platonic" model which can act as a pattern for all curriculums. When the Harvard curriculum served as the model, divergences from the pattern were immediately apparent and measurable. Since the model itself is suspect, there is no point of reference from which new or remodeled curriculums can be viewed. Of course, colleges continue to borrow certain concepts *en masse;* for example, the 4-1-4 calendar was used at only six schools prior to 1967-68, but by 1971-72 two hundred and thirty-six schools had adopted it. Schools such as Mount Vernon College in Washington, D.C. have made calendar changes that are bound to affect curriculum content. Mount Vernon has initiated a modular calendar in which courses may be arranged in three week, six week, or twelve week segments. A calendar of this sort allows the instructor to fit length to course content rather than fitting course content to length. Concomitant changes in instructional approaches are natural outgrowths of the modular calendar; for instance, conventional lecture systems will not work for a three week course. Nevertheless, it seems to me that in general such reforms as calendar changes are manipulative rather than basic. As has been indicated, the four year curriculum is an historical accident and the school (Cambridge in England) which served as the model for Harvard has since reduced its curriculum to three years while the imitators, so to speak, have adhered to the original model. Furthermore, current changes in curriculum tend not only to be manipulative but *ad hoc*. For instance, the loosening of the foreign language requirement in some curriculums, whether justified or not, often occurred without consideration of its effect on the total curriculum. In other words, institutions tend to be more independent in changing the details of their curriculums than they are in changing the overall pattern.

There is, however, at least one school that is going beyond revision of an existing curriculum. The School of Dentistry at the University of Michigan has established a Department of Educational Resources which is devising an entirely new curriculum that was ready for implementation by September 1974. Under the leadership of David Starks and funded by a federal grant, a team of more than sixty researchers has talked with the faculty, students, and administrators in an attempt to identify the objectives of the curriculum as well as the objectives and content of specific courses.

Although the details of the new dentistry curriculum are far from settled, it is clear that most previous notions of what a curriculum should contain have been discarded. The degree, which will be mastery-based and built around principles of behavioral objectives, will allow students to begin study at some specific point in time and then to move on at their own pace as they master the various specified objectives. Use will be made of computer-assisted instruction, video tapes, slides, and film-

strips. However, the most innovative aspect of the new curriculum will be the utilization of students as valuable resource personnel, as courses will be constructed in a way that will allow teachers to take advantage of the background and preparation of their students. Thirty students began the new curriculum in the fall of 1974, along with one hundred and fifty other students who will follow the conventional track.

The curriculum developments at the University of Michigan underscore the view that fundamental to meaningful change in the educational experience is reform not only in the formal curriculum but in course content and teaching methods as well. No matter how the student obtains his academic training, no matter how rigid or flexible the structure in which the student is placed, no matter what length of time it takes to earn a degree nor the number of credits that must be accumulated, the real importance of the student's formal educational experience is what happens in the classroom. Running laps and jumping hurdles are seldom considered by students to be "relevant" or to have depth of purpose.

Instead, there are a number of questions that must be asked—and answered. How are the views of the student put to positive use in the classroom? Does the student learn to appreciate the dignity of his own life, to trust the validity and importance of his own experiences, and to share them with others? Is he, in turn, prepared to listen and to accept the validity of *their* experiences? Is the student taught to accept inevitable change? Does he recognize learning as a life-long process? Can he use different learning approaches for different subject matters? Can he synthesize as well as analyze? These questions and dozens more like them need to be asked if the curriculum, in all its aspects, is to be a vital, important, and desirable part of each student's life experience. The orthodox views of higher education simply will not measure up to the demands of the world as it moves into the twenty-first century. Teaching practices must change in order to meet student needs and the needs of society as a whole. Few courses can be viewed as ends in themselves, but rather they must be seen as instruments to help facilitate the growth of the person. Education cannot be self-serving, preparing the student for a vocation, important though that may be. The more basic issue is whether or not the student can learn to live with himself and with others within the confines of his chosen vocation and the limitations of his environment, and yet able to see beyond them.

In order to transcend superficial restructuring of the curriculum, an increasing amount of research will be necessary in order to measure how effective present academic practices are, to pinpoint what exactly is wrong in higher education, to determine what future needs may be, and ultimately to make concrete predictions about the shape of higher education in the future. Goals must be determined before the mechanisms for achieving those goals can be devised, but mechanisms that are adopted without prior research and experimentation will afford higher education little good. If firm strategies for reform are to replace mere groping and manipulation of structures, data about educational processes are essential.

There are two major constraining forces at work that inhibit radical curriculum change. First, all institutions tend to be conservative and self-sustaining, and second, it is easier for humans to criticize than to construct. Change of the sort that seems necessary is viewed as a threat to the continued existence of institutions of higher education and to the individuals who feel secure in the conventional ways of doing business. Yet, it is necessary for institutions of higher education to change, and it is necessary for them to create new approaches to learning, because the basic educational assumptions underlying current academic practices have lost their certainty and their magic. For one thing, our concept of knowledge has changed. Knowledge is seen as relative rather than absolute, and as infinite rather than finite; it is less amenable to sequencing and segmentation; it is fluid rather than static; and, most important perhaps, it is growing prodigiously.

Emerging from these new concepts of knowledge is a revised theory of instruction that is very much in the formative stage. The various parts of the theory, while often amorphous, vague, and ambiguous, are interrelated to the point where it is often difficult to separate cause from effect. Nevertheless, a few elements of the new theory are taking shape. Certainly the classroom is becoming more student-centered. The shift from study of subject matter to a problems approach has brought with it an emphasis on *how* rather than *what* and an emphasis on doing rather than memorization. It is clear that educational goals are not uniform among students, nor are their paces of learning the same nor even similar; lockstep learning simply will not work with today's students, and so individualized instruction and independent study have taken on new importance. Given the relativity of learning, even the grading system has come under a rather disjointed attack and is yet to be resolved.

Whatever theory of instruction is finally developed—and there is likely to be more than one—, the technological advances of the last few decades will undoubtedly play a major role. Such instruments as video tapes, closed circuit television, and computer-assisted instruction will lend themselves to classroom use in the future, and without the letdown that followed the disenchantment with the language laboratory where too much was expected too soon. At the University of Illinois, the Computer-based Education Research Laboratory has developed a fourth generation computer-assisted device labeled PLATO (Programmed Logic for Automatic Teaching Operations). PLATO, which is seen as a classroom supplement, will have more than four thousand terminals located throughout the state of Illinois, each operating at a surprisingly low cost per student-hour. Numerous programs are already available and more are being authored each year. PLATO IV is by far the easiest to program, the easiest to operate, and the most versatile yet developed by the University of Illinois; yet it only hints at what may be done in the future.

Technological advances have opened up the world-wide community and have been directly responsible for the shift in America from an elitist

philosophy to an egalitarian philosophy; more people want more advantages than ever before, including the opportunity for a meaningful education. Now, more than ever before, there is recognition of the individual's worth, regardless of racial or ethnic origin. A greater variety of life styles must be accommodated than in the past, and the value of all cultural heritages is now recognized. Along with these changes is the rejection of authority by virtue of position, especially in the classroom. Recognition of individual worth includes the right of the individual to question those placed in power above him.

Furthermore, the technological advances of the twentieth century, the rapid growth of the population, and the move away from elitist theories have led to a number of significant changes in our educational concepts. For one thing, it is clear that education is continuous. As new jobs are formed and as old ones are phased out, almost over-night, new skills are demanded and old skills must be up-dated. The point is well-made by Boyer that the educational process is a continual one:

> The notion that education is something one gets only before going to work must be replaced with the idea that education is a lifelong process, going on during, after, and in between work. And in so doing, our colleges will increasingly move from the notion of educating *youth* to educating *people*, with the barriers of age removed.
>
> The central question after all is not how much education, but when and under what conditions education can be of most value to individuals.[9]

Of course curriculums must be made pertinent to the needs of the people comprising the various age groups, but again the more crucial element is what takes place in the classroom between teacher and student. Mere manipulation of the curriculum is not sufficient, whether it is manipulation of the calendar or the number of credits required. As Boyer phrases it, educators must rethink "the entire under-graduate curriculum, especially in relation to all that has gone before."[10]

It seems that, unlike the weather, everyone talks about curriculum reform and a few even try to do something about it. David Bayler has written, "The plain fact is that curriculum reform changes nothing that is worth changing."[11] I do not think that it is too sweeping to claim that the future of higher education in America depends on the willingness of educators to specify goals and to accept change in the curriculum. The curriculum *is* higher education; the strength of institutions depends on recognizing and meeting the challenges of a world grown smaller, more complex, and ever subject to future shock. Institutions of higher education may survive without changing their curriculums, but they are not likely to be the dominant social force they could be if they did change. In addition, the very diversity of needs that are manifesting themselves

point to the necessity for a variety of types of institutions to meet those needs. The growing complexity of our current world defies the formulation of any *one* curriculum model; instead a multitude of curriculums is necessary in order to meet the demands of a changing student population and of a changing world.

In summary, to speak of curriculum reform means going deeper than manipulation of the mechanics of "degree-getting." If reshaping the curriculum is to have any significance, what is necessary is making the educational experience essential to the needs of all students of all ages. Equivalency testing may be a partial step in that direction, and perhaps conflating the high school-college experience is also; I have less confidence in the efficacy of time-shortened curriculums or credit reduction, since they do not seem to get to the heart of reform. However, the issue of revitalizing the content of the curriculum is every bit as important as reforming its structure; the two problems had better be worked out simultaneously.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For a condensed history of the four year curriculum, see "How Much Time for Education," by Ernest L. Boyer, *Educational Record*, Fall 1972 (LIII/4), pp. 271-280.

[2]*Less Time, More Options*, The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, January 1971, *passim*.

[3]Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[4]Derek Bok, "The Three-Year Degree," *College Board Review*, Fall 1972 (85), pp. 14-16.

[5]*Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 14, 1973, p. 1.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

[7]Lewis B. Mayhew, *Contemporary College Students and the Curriculum*, Southern Regional Education Board (Atlanta, Georgia), 1969, p. 26.

[8]*Ibid.*, p. 30.

[9]Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

[10]Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

[11]"The Emptiness of Curriculum Reform," *Journal of Higher Education*, November 1972 (XLIV/8), p. 592.

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Changes in Calendar and Concept: Small Changes/Large Consequences

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During the late 1950's and early 60's, higher education was preoccupied with accommodating a steady increase of students. Despite the continued growth in enrollment, some institutions recognized that financial resources could not be expanded indefinitely, and that more efficient modes of operation had to be found. One proposal given wide publicity (Tickton, 1963)[1] was to make better use of both human and physical resources by operating college campuses year-round. Eventually over one hundred institutions, including several statewide systems adopted some form of year-round calendar.

By the mid-1960's the college calendar had once again become a major topic of discussion on many campuses. The context, however, had changed dramatically. The issue was no longer year-round operation, but a growing debate over the "failure" of undergraduate education. While this failure had been first observed by analysts such as Clark Kerr and Nevitt Sanford in the early 1960's, it was students themselves who most forcefully directed attention to the problem. By 1966-67 the student movement, a child of the civil rights and anti-war movements, directed itself also against educational institutions.

Appraisal of student dissatisfaction with higher education is difficult. Many students were clearly dissatisfied with specific elements such as excessive lecturing and over-emphasis upon grades. But the basic issues were more pervasive. Among the young, there was no doubt that

profound changes were taking place in the United States and that still more fundamental changes were to come. The civil rights movement, the emerging concern with Viet Nam, and the development of a viable "counter culture" were seen as manifestations of a much more fundamental revolution which would change the nation in ways not yet foreseen. In this context, American colleges and universities were criticized, not so much for their specific shortcomings of instruction, but because in the midst of these profound crises and changes, institutions continued to offer the same fare as though nothing had happened.

Ironically, although the large universities were the most criticized, the small private liberal arts colleges were at first most affected. If education was everywhere equally dull, the larger institutions could at least offer more freedom and "action", a wider extracurriculum, and generally lower costs. For these and other reasons, students gravitated to larger institutions. The projected enrollment increases which had led small private institutions to consider year-round operation did not occur. Instead, competition for students increased.

With these items and others constituting an agenda for the fundamental reform of undergraduate education, the faculty response to a discussion of calendar change, particularly at private liberal arts colleges, may be explained in one of two ways, or a combination of the two. For some faculty, calendar change and the curricular reform which it might produce, provided a means of achieving the educational improvements demanded by students and sought by these faculty. At the same time, to many faculty, of all possible reforms, calendar change was among the least threatening. To many administrators it was also the least costly. Indeed, calendar change seemed innocuous compared to a fundamental overhaul of the faculty reward and status system or changes in the content or process of education. Faculty thus began to discuss the calendar with the same fervor they had earlier shown in debates over distribution requirements. Consideration of 10, 14, or 17 weeks as an optimum calendar term replaced the question of two versus three courses in the natural sciences as the favorite academic exercise.

Resulting changes are illustrated in a survey conducted in 1971 by the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers[2] which concludes that "a calendar revolution" has indeed taken place. The survey shows that between 1966-67 and 1971-72, the number of institutions on the traditional semester calendar fell from nearly 1,800 to 637 with a majority moving to an early semester plan (860 total by 1972) and smaller numbers adopting quarter (542), 4-1-4 (236) or other calendars. The number on the early semester had increased by twelve times since 1966-67 and on 4-1-4 by forty times with a fifty percent increase in the quarter system and a slight decline in the number on a trimester (77).

The New Calendars

In overview, some of the reasons for and the effects of each of these

different calendar changes are as follows.

Early Semester

The purpose of the early semester calendar is to eliminate the interruption of the semester, particularly toward its end, by a long period of vacation. Both students and faculty have long disliked the loss of continuity in courses which results from this schedule. In addition, students have resented the disruption of their vacation by the preparation of papers and study for exams, or the anxiety produced by *not* engaging in such activities when needed.

In general, this calendar change has not been stimulated by any desire for educational reform and has not produced any special curricular changes.

The Quarter System

The move to a quarter system by approximately 200 institutions in the past seven years was motivated by the following considerations: (1) To some faculty, the quarter system offered a more acceptable means by which to conclude the first term before Christmas than the alternative of shortening the semester; (2) It provided a way of breaking up the long period between Christmas and June; (3) In the case of the quarter credit system, it packaged the courses into smaller course units which were more appealing to some; (4) In the case of the 3-3 adaptation of the quarter system, the restructuring of the curriculum reduced the number of different courses being taken by the students or taught by an instructor.

Under the regular quarter system in which a student may take as many as five or six courses at a time in a period of ten weeks, it is the authors' belief, based on experience, that learning might be impaired by the continuous pre-occupation with exams. The 3-3 approach has merit in its reduction of fragmentation of the load of both students and faculty.

While generally not producing any extensive educational experimentation, except in a few institutions where five week modules have been used, changing from a semester system to a quarter system, especially a 3-3, often necessitates a curriculum review and reorganization. Such reexamination of a college's curriculum on a faculty member by faculty member and a department by department basis is a valuable exercise in itself.

Year Round Calendar

In a new way the year-round calendar is making a slight comeback. Earlier attempts found that large numbers of students would not voluntarily choose to attend classes in the summer. A few institutions, however, have been successful in requiring that all students attend one or two summer sessions in lieu of a term in the regular academic year. Success with this approach might produce the next major variation in calendar change.

The Modular Term — 4-1-4 and Its Variants

The calendar change which claims the greatest effects on the

educational program, as well as the greatest growth in adherents, excluding the early semester, is the 4-1-4 format and its variations. Motivation based on the desire for educational reform rather than administrative convenience or moderate curricular revision forms the background for the "4-1-4 movement." By 1973-74 this calendar format had attracted over 400 institutions to its philosophy.

The basic idea of an interim cannot be considered particularly innovative or new. Bennington College, when it opened in 1933, included a nine-week off-campus, non-credit work activity sandwiched between two 14-week terms. Prior to that, Harvard developed a three week reading period at the end of each semester (Angell, 1968)[3].

Neither of these arrangements, however, exploited the basic strength of the interim plan - courses which would involve groups of students and faculty in a single activity for a four-week period of time. These activities, particularly those involving off-campus study, often could not be scheduled during the regular semester because of competing activities and other demands.

The interim plan had gained considerable visibility by the mid-1960's because of the rather innovative activities of a number of institutions. The 4-1-4 in its present general form was first proposed for a new college in Massachusetts which was to be established as a cooperative venture by four Massachusetts institutions. (The institution was later established as Hampshire College.) The first implementation of 4-1-4 occurred at Florida Presbyterian (now Eckerd College) in 1960, and then at Colby College, (Maine) in 1961. In each instance the interim plan was developed quite independently of the other, although Florida Presbyterian was aware of the New College Plan. The Colby Calendar was developed primarily to end the regular semester before Christmas and to provide a period for experimentation and faculty development. The Florida Presbyterian interim was developed to further the major educational goal of the institution, the capacity for independent study. In 1962, Smith College initiated a loosely structured interim term, which it discontinued after four years. Although Macalester and Gustavus Adolphus Colleges in Minnesota, followed later by a limited number of other institutions, adopted the interim plan in 1963, several years elapsed before any significant number of colleges joined the movement. The number of institutions with interims increased from less than 50 in 1968 to approximately 200 by 1970 to an estimated 400 plus at the present time.

The 3-3 calendar reduced the number of courses that the student would take at any one time and provided terms short enough that the student could spend one term off campus and not miss half of the academic year. But the majority of colleges which adopted a new calendar, other than the early semester, opted for the 4-1-4. The 4-1-4 contained most of the major benefits of the 3-3 plus the major advantage of being more amenable to compromise in several key areas. These areas included: retention of the basic semester format, control of experimentation, and access to consortia.

Retention of the Basic Semester Format

Faculty at most undergraduate liberal arts institutions overwhelmingly favored the semester plan for traditional courses. According to many faculty, the sixteen week period with class meetings three days per week is ideal for presentation and synthesis of material in a variety of fields. As a further practical matter, any calendar reform which would require substantial re-structuring of existing courses was likely to be opposed. 4-1-4 required only a modest restructuring of traditional courses and proved acceptable if not optimum for all but the most conservative faculty.

At many institutions, the interim plan was combined with a proposal to shift from a system of courses with variable credits to courses of equal credit value, thus literally constructing a four course, one course, four course calendar. Experience with several institutions proved this was more difficult to adopt than the interim concept because the course unit system involved a more fundamental restructuring of existing courses.

The most important compromise encouraged by the interim plan was between those who wanted essentially to maintain the *status quo* and those who desired some form of experimentation and innovation. The interim calendar permits innovation within acceptable limits by creating a structure for experimentation in the small college quite similar to that found in the experimental college or free university at larger institutions.

Because most small colleges lack the resources to create a separate experimental *unit*, the alternative is to devote part of the *time* of all faculty and students to innovation. By allocating the full resources of the institution to innovation during the interim, the necessary "critical mass" for effective innovation is created. At the same time, the requirement that experimentation will take part primarily during the interim permits a greater degree of control since innovation is confined to a limited period of time.

Both the experimental college and the interim calendar are compromise structural changes appropriate to different types of institutions. In the case of the experimental or cluster college, the task of innovation is assigned to a sub-unit of a larger, more complex institution. In the interim plan the task is assigned to a limited period of time.

Access to Consortia

For smaller institutions especially, the consortium movement replaced year-round operation as the panacea for financial problems. Confronted with mounting criticisms of higher education and the growing competition for students from public institutions, small colleges found they lacked the financial capacity for new and improved programs. Innovations such as study abroad, or a Washington semester, as well as new programs in fields such as urban studies and computer studies, were beyond the resources of most small colleges. Criticism and competition literally forced smaller institutions to work together.

Establishing inter-institutional relationships, however, proved difficult for many schools. Those with few neighbors faced problems in

sharing faculty and resources. Most colleges did not want to "blur" through cooperation what they considered to be distinctive characteristics. Finally, everything from athletic schedules to heavy graduation requirements inhibited cooperation during the academic year.

By concentrating many of their joint efforts in a four week period, colleges could amass resources for costly programs. By limiting students to one activity, barriers to cooperative instructional programs were overcome. Several consortia, such as the Associated Colleges of Central Kansas, organized with the understanding that institutions would adopt a common 4-1-4 calendar. Other colleges formed limited agreements with sister institutions to initiate specific programs during the interim. Cooperative ventures now occur through contacts established by the organization of nearly half of the interim plan schools into the Association for Innovation in Higher Education, originally The 4-1-4 Conference.

Other Effects of 4-1-4

The scheduling change of an interim also encourages both faculty and students to play a greater variety of roles. In most regular term courses the role of the faculty member is to disseminate information through lectures. Fortunately, few faculty have been foolhardy enough to lecture the fifty plus hours required to offer an equivalent course during the four week interim term. Instead, faculty, during an interim, typically shift to roles associated with advanced instruction, such as resource person, discussion leader, and research coordinator. Students assume similar roles and generally take more responsibility for planning and implementing interim courses. Probably the most interesting faculty role changes have occurred in those student initiated courses which are outside the teacher's area of expertise. Ideally, the faculty member becomes a co-learner and hopefully serves as a model of the process of learning or problem solving.

In our experience, the most important outcome of the interim term has been the stimulation of innovation generally. The 4-1-4 interim provides a period which in the minds of most faculty and students is devoted to doing things "differently." The interim thus establishes the norm of innovation for at least a limited period of time during which faculty and students may try out creative educational ideas under favorable conditions and without fear of loss of status.

For the individual faculty member the barrier to innovation is often fear of what might happen as an unanticipated consequence of change. The interim, by providing for controlled experimentation, permits faculty members to experience and to evaluate an innovation before having to commit themselves to a relatively permanent change.

While adoption of a period in the academic year devoted to innovation is an important outcome in its own right, the lasting importance of the interim may well be the "carry over" of innovation to the remainder

of the academic year. Although the structure of the interim facilitiates a certain kind of innovation such as the intensive study of a single area, changes developed during an interim can be carried out during the regular academic year with little or no modification. In this respect the role of the interim in faculty development and organizational renewal should not be overlooked. These factors have become literally a matter of survival for some institutions.

The same stimulation of further innovation has occurred in the area of inter-institutional cooperation. The interim creates an opportunity to explore cooperation on a limited and informal basis without making permanent commitments. By focusing on a limited period of time, without sacrificing existing programs, institutions have been able to channel appropriate resources to inter-institutional projects. More extensive forms of cooperation were made possible at several institutions by the favorable response of the faculty and students to pilot programs carried out during an interim.

Often innovative structural change is important not for direct but for indirect effects. Indeed, the most important outcomes are often unforeseen. For example, the basic intention of President Eliot's elective system - an earlier structural change - was to create an open curricular market for the student. But the more lasting consequence was to free the faculty to teach a specialized subject based upon their own research. This in turn provided a market for the research scholars produced by graduate schools and helped create the "academic revolution" described by Jencks and Reisman.[4]

In summary, the interim plan, by virtue of a simple calendar change involving four weeks or approximately 11 percent of the total academic year, created a vehicle for innovation which has brought about more radical educational change at many institutions than had occurred in the preceding 50 years.

Would these changes have occurred anyway? Many have been implemented at institutions which did not adopt the interim calendar. But the cost has often been great, particularly in terms of faculty morale. The interim, like the experimental college, allows faculty to try out various innovations without major commitment to adoption of change. To those who insist that the present form of higher education is best, the interim should help to prove that change can be introduced and examined without disrupting the basic educational program. To those who believe that nothing less than reconstruction of undergraduate education will suffice, the interim provides one vehicle for the evaluation of many educational proposals.

Resulting Changes in the Educational Structure

Calendar changes, particularly those involving a relatively experimental modular term, have stimulated a number of curricular and structural changes which may have a much more significant impact on education than the calendar changes themselves.

The growth of credit-bearing work-type experiences could be defended as a trend which is co-incidental with that of calendar change. On the other hand, there are some faculty that became convinced of the merit of granting credit for work-study or cooperative education projects through their involvement with such activities during an interim term. These experiences involve the active "learning by doing" that is so important to today's students. Through modular calendars or semester interims, they also can involve a personalization and intensity of experience - a "total immersion" - that may have some definite learning advantages, in addition to meeting students' emotional needs.

Flexibility in credit certification is also related to the increasing diversity of student bodies at many institutions: students from lower socio-economic and minority groups, retired persons, professionals needing continuing education, women seeking enrichment in their traditional roles or educational assistance for re-entry into the labor market, many young people following a non-traditional time sequence in obtaining their education.

The modular calendar, first in the interim term arrangement and more recently in one course module possibilities, pioneered by Mount Vernon and Colorado Colleges, puts a group of students and one or more faculty together for an intensive period of time without competing demands from other courses, laboratories, field trips, etc. Under these conditions faculty and students both seem more willing to modify the responsibility for their own learning and for the teaching of their peers. While perhaps not equally appropriate in all disciplines, a new emphasis on "covering material" through reading *outside class* time and on discussion for emphasis or clarification *in class* often emerges. Courses may also involve new dimensions of cooperative effort (among students) in learning and (between students and faculty) in determining what is to be learned.

The adoption of a modular calendar in which students take one course at a time or vary their course load from term to term provides new options in types of experiences and in point of enrollment. Mount Vernon, for example, has the unusual situation of concluding the year with more students than it began the year. The modular arrangement creates a greater number of entry points.

Summary

Reducing the number of conflicts with other courses through the one or two course load pattern, permits greater use of off-campus resources, including cooperation with other institutions. As students pressure for "relevance" and limitations on institutional resources pressure for cooperation, a calendar which can respond to these pressures will become more and more attractive.

The academic calendar is often dismissed as an inconsequential element in education. Certainly there is no direct evidence that more learning takes place under one calendar system than under another. But

calendar change does appear to be associated with modifications in the educational and organizational structures of an institution - modifications which we must hope will enhance the learning environment.

Year-round operation failed in part because students could not be induced to attend a full semester or quarter term in the summer. However, the emphasis has now shifted from accommodating greatly increased numbers of students to expansion and acceleration of programs for current students.

Few students appear willing to attend college year round. But with a restricted job market for summer employment, many students may enroll for some work beyond the traditional nine month academic year rather than spend an entire summer unemployed. To accommodate these students and others, many institutions now offer "split" summer sessions and this trend will undoubtedly continue. Although the 4-1-4 calendar provides no barrier to summer terms of various types, a 4-4-1 calendar, which places the interim at the end of the academic year, provides a much better vehicle for extending the calendar and at the same time solves several problems which result from the interim.

An extended calendar consisting of several terms would: a) help to accelerate degree programs; b) upgrade ties with current internship, public service, and travel-study abroad probrams; c) encourage greater flexibility in courses by allowing them to be offered for periods extending over one or more summer terms; d) make better use of auxiliary facilities and personnel by scheduling terms which reduce their use at the end of the academic year, and which lengthen the income producing period; and e) increase faculty salaries for those willing to teach several summer terms.

The emphasis on calendar reform may eventually lead to a decreased emphasis upon the calendar itself. Obviously any complex organization such as a college must have some schedule for bringing groups of people together to achieve the goals of the organization. At the same time, the traditional academic calendar appears to have been shaped more by national holidays, final examinations, and registrations than by a concept of how to improve instruction.

In the future, students may construct their programs by enrolling in a variety of courses which begin and end at different times depending on the needs of the course. (This system seems better suited to larger institutions which can offer a greater variety of course opportunities from which to construct individualized programs.) Modular instruction is now being offered at a number of institutions within existing courses and little change would be required to offer these experiences as separate courses.

This kind of scheduling is already present within professional schools such as medicine and dentistry and within undergradute programs such as teacher education or engineering. The ultimate compliment to calendar reform would be for institutions to devise time and instructional frameworks in such a way that the schedule is dictated by the

educational needs of the individual student rather than by administrative considerations and lack of sufficient resources.

Any organization must constantly renew itself by adapting to changing conditions, or face the threat of decay. Typically the chief barrier to organizational renewal is not incompetent personnel, but obsolete organizational structures and regulations which preclude even the systematic consideration of change through experimentation and evaluation.

In complex institutions such as colleges and universities the answer to institutional renewal is not the abandonment of all structure, as proposed by various counter-culture utopians, but the creation of more viable forms of organization and operation where openness to carefully considered change becomes one of the major criteria by which the institution evaluates itself. Judged by this criterion the interim-modular plans and other calendar changes have opened institutions to new ideas and opportunities; to increased flexibility and educational options; to opportunities for faculty and staff to renew themselves professionally and personally; and to the potential of structural reform for improving the quality of education. Few educational reforms in the past fifty years can make this claim.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Sidney Tickton, *The Year-Round Campus Catches On*, New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1963.

[2]Lloyd C. Oleson, *A Report on Academic Calendars, American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, 1971.*

[3]Charles E. Angell, "A Study of the Origin and Development of the 4-1-4 Undergraduate College Program with Special Considerations for the Interim Term." Unpublished dissertation. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, 1969.

[4]Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution*, New York: Doubleday, 1968.

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EUGENE E. DUBOIS
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Non-Traditional Study: A Burgeoning Force in Reshaping American Higher Education

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Not until the pressures of a changing society began to build or the clamorings of the youth culture for new and more meaningful experiences emerged did the house of learning begin to examine itself in any major way.

In America, higher education in the sixties brought about recognition of minority students, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, American Indians etc. The emergence of the career education concept, education for life, and special higher education increased the need for new programs and non-traditional study. Although society has played a significant role in changing education, one must remember that it is education that changes society. For example, college graduates tend to act more effectively in the care of their health, in the purchase of goods and services, in the investment of their money, and in the care and education of their children.[1]

Today nearly twenty percent of an average lifetime in the United States is spent in substantial attention to formal education - 12.6 years out of 71 - and the percentage has risen rapidly during the past century.[2] Higher education promises to be more and more capable of exercising leadership in all phases of our society.

Bernard Luskin, Vice-Chancellor, Coast Community College

District, Costa Mesa, California, in a telephone discussion with *AACJC Journal* editors, stated that the time is soon approaching when we need to bring together the experiences that have been gained so far for those who would like to take advantage of them. New ways must be developed to deliver education to the students. One cannot do new things very differently with traditional mechanisms. We must provide new, high-quality materials. He concluded by stating that what is really needed are new methods, not new institutions.[3]

Model for Non-Traditional Designs

It would be impossible to include here all of the current attempts at non-traditional study or innovative designs; others have prepared descriptive reports, and references are made in the bibliography of a select few. The situations cited here have been selected for illustrative purposes only, for certainly other designs are equally meritorious.

A simple model which appears to be recurrent in their non-traditional designs might be the following:

Establish Objectives
Examine Constraints ⟷ Determine Alternatives
Prepare Learning Design or Learning Activity

The various formats represent modification of individual courses to the use of simple programmed materials to more sophisticated learning packages and computer aided designs. By "simple," it is not meant to infer that time, energy, and testing must not be employed; however, "simple" might represent a low level of learning such as in elementary arithmetic with a teacher-prepared exercise.

Established objectives for the learning experience, and examination of the constraints are usually employed. The constraints may be minor or rather formidable. Such constraints might be time, money, or resources. Teaching an alternative design might be determined and examined. These alternatives would then have variations or levels of acceptability resulting in one or more preferable alternatives. The result would be the actual development or implementation of a new learning design or learning activity.

This rather simplistic model obviously requires considerably more testing and retesting than this short description would imply. However, it does serve as a generalized construct with which one might examine new designs or non-traditional study.

Another design used to deliver education to students is the concept of andragogy. Andragogy, "the art and science of helping adults to learn has attracted considerable attention in recent years."[4] Andragogy is based upon four assumptions about the characteristics of adult learners. 1) the adult enters the learning experience with a concept of himself as a mature human being with values and an adultness unique to himself; 2) as an adult, he has a body of past experiences which he may utilize in determining that which is relevant to his learning needs; 3) his readiness to learn is modified by his developmental tasks and his social role; 4) and

unlike the youth his time perspective is one of immediacy and not future oriented, thus his learning shifts from subject centeredness to problem centeredness.

The design of learning experiences for adults obviously has implications for youth learners. The humanizing of the classroom where the student becomes an active participant, responsible for his learning, helps to enhance self-direction and thus instills independence rather than an apathetic reception of learning.

Systems Approach to Instruction

The field of systems development has taken on wider implications in recent years. Long utilized in government and industry, educational planners and administrators have determined that there is a place for systems approaches in education.

Mager and Beach say:

> . . . systematic course development is no different than systematic development of an airplane, or systematic design and construction of a building . . . The tools are different, but the procedure is the same.
>
> Essentially, the three phases of the procedure ask us to:
>
> 1. Determine and describe what it is we want to achieve.
> 2. Do what is necessary to achieve the desired result.
> 3. Check to see that we have succeeded in what we set out to do.
>
> In developing instruction, this means:
>
> 1. Deriving and describing the objectives in meaningful form.
> 2. Developing lessons and materials designed to meet these objectives and trying out the course.
> 3. Determining how well the objectives were achieved and improving the course to improve the results.[5]

The systems approach to instruction received its greatest impetus from Professor Samuel Postelthwait of Purdue University in the field of botany. It was here that the systems method was utilized to decrease the number of students failing botany and biology courses.[6]

When Oakland Community College in Michigan opened in the fall of 1965 under the leadership of President John E. Tirrell, that institution initiated one of the largest experiments in non-traditional study. Oakland enrolled almost 4,000 students that fall, and all of the students were exposed to instruction through the systems approach or audio-tutorial plan of teaching.

Features of audio-tutorial teaching at Oakland Community College were the following:

1. A degree of flexibility in the relative emphasis given in various courses to General Assembly Sessions and to Small Assembly Sessions.
2. A degree of flexibility in the relative emphasis given in various courses to required attendance at General Assembly Sessions and

at Small Assembly Sessions, as well as to scheduled attendance at Individual Study Sessions.

3. The development and use in all learning laboratories of "Oakland-designed" study carrells, specifically planned for audio-tutorial teaching and providing facilities for the use of varied audio-visual materials by individual students.
4. The use of "functional teaching teams" in various courses—consisting of a coordinator, associated instructors, tutors, materials experts, and laboratory assistants—with every team member having specific responsibilities appropriate for his background of education and experience.

The chart from Oakland which follows further describes the rationale and functioning of audio-tutorial teaching there as compared with "conventional" teaching.[7]

AUDIO-TUTORIAL TEACHING AT OAKLAND COMMUNITY COLLEGE COMPARED WITH CONVENTIONAL METHOD

Teaching Element	Conventional	Oakland Community College
Objectives	Nonbehavioral, generalized. Student guesses or assumes.	Behavioral, specific, detailed. Given to student at start of term for each unit and study period.
Course Outline	Chapter, topic, textbook, test dates.	Detailed step-by-step objectives and media chains to be used.
Course Conduct	Three weekly lectures, outside reading, "trouble conferences" arranged.	One weekly assembly, independent self-study, multimedia, small seminar groups, much tutorial assistance.
Grading	Twice a year.	Weekly at least, twice a year, and summary reports.
Knowledge of Results	Twice a semester — long delays. Formal faculty test, written by students in a group.	Weekly, immediately. Self-testing. Written, oral, group, and individual examinations and quizzes.
Emphasis	Teacher Text Test Grades Instructional	Learner Multimedia Feedback Achievement Learning

Although at Purdue the audio-tutorial approach to instruction was limited to individual courses, the unique feature at Oakland was that it involved the entire college; however, only those prospective faculty that indicated a desire to teach in this innovative manner were eventually appointed. The college turned to industry for assistance in initiating its plan. *Litton Instructional Materials provided a two-month workshop for* the faculty, instructing them in determining behavioral objectives, designing materials and instructional aids.

More recently other institutions have attempted to utilize the audio-tutorial approach to instruction. While the time, money and effort that is required for this non-traditional approach is considerable, its proponents believe that the desired results are worth the expenditure.

Non-Degree Special Programs

Today's society needs are being heard, and change is taking place primarily in the Junior and Community College phase of higher education in providing "more relevant learning experiences." Estimates indicate that special and internal degree programs are emerging each week. The Commission on non-traditional study conducted a survey which indicated that 1,000 to 1,400 non-traditional study programs now exist in institutions of higher learning and that most of them have emerged during the past two years. The new degree programs contain one or many of these elements: College credit for (a) life experiences and accomplishments; (b) learning occurrences in industrial and/or business settings; (c) proficiency by examination in subject matter; (d) correspondence courses; (e) computer-assisted and media-assisted instruction; (f) independent study; (g) regional counseling and learning centers; (h) seminars; (i) utilization of community resources; and (j) traditional classroom learning.[8]

Special degree programs thus allow a great deal of flexibility for the student and permit a wide range of field experiences which do not necessarily confine the learning experience to the traditional classroom. The Bachelor of Liberal Studies and the Master of Liberal Studies degrees, have thus provided a refreshing alternative to the traditional educational experiences in higher education.

New degrees in the Community and Junior Colleges may be looked upon as pioneers in the non-traditional era. The state Technical Institute of Memphis inaugurated an Associate of Independent Studies Degree which majored in each of the areas offered. The recipient of the degree will have indicated that he has been certified through testing and evaluation to possess abilities normally required by the graduates. These abilities, however, are acquired primarily on an independent basis. At Spoon River College in Illinois an Associate Degree in Liberal Studies is offered for students twenty-five years of age or older. Commencing with an eight week seminar of two-hour weekly sessions, they pursue their effort through independent study. The twelve learning centers of the Vermont Regional Community College Commission, can meet student needs for instruction anywhere within the state.

Special degree programs are relatively new. These programs are a departure from the traditional academic experiences operated by institutions of higher education. Most authorities in the field believe that as more adults return to the university or colleges, the need for special degree programs will be recognized and that the number of institutions providing these non-traditional degrees will increase.

The first special degree program began in 1954 at Brooklyn College. Eventually a host of other institutions recognized the special or unique learning needs of adults and instituted similar programs with various modification.

The early institutions to initiate programs were: Syracuse University, The University of Oklahoma, Queens College, Goddard College, John Hopkins University, San Francisco Theological Seminary, New York University, Boston University, the University of South Florida, Roosevelt University, Brigham Young University and the State University of New York, College at Brockport.

These degree programs evolved out of several working conferences. Considerable effort by the now defunct Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults gone impetus for the establishment of several specific degree programs.

While there are several differences in individual programs, Liveright categorized them according to four variables:

1) the amount of credit which was must be earned through regular on campus classes;
2) the total residence requirements;
3) the extent to which special methods and media are utilized; and
4) the extent to which the credit hour system is replaced by other means of measuring and reporting progress.[9]

In addition to the objective of providing liberal education, most of the programs have other common objectives, such as the following:

1. They attempt to instill a desire for learning and to provide skills of independent study so that students may continue self-enrichment study beyond the degree.
2. The curriculum is interdisciplinary, emphasizing broad knowledge and understanding of basic concepts and the interrelationship of knowledge rather than the accumulation of factual information.
3. They attempt to develop skills and habits of study and research in a particular discipline or problem area.
4. They are designed to meet the special needs and interests of adults.
5. They permit adults to pursue a degree program in a manner and under circumstances convenient to them.
6. They provide opportunities for student evaluation, program evaluation, and educational research.

Guided independent study is a major element in most special degree programs. Typically the independent study program is planned by a faculty member in conference with the student, and the two continue to work together throughout the period of independent study in a given area or on a given topic. The importance placed on independent study is appropriate. Experience and research indicate that many adult students are willing and able to assume large responsibility for their learning through guided independent study. With reasonable guidance and proper materials, adults easily learn through various techniques and procedures.

Independent study is a convenient means of learning since it permits the student to pursue his studies at a time and place of his choosing. It also permits flexibility in his rate of progress, allowing him to proceed at his own pace according to his ability, initiative, self-discipline, desire, and time available for study.[10]

The University Without Walls

The University Without Walls (UWW) is a program of the Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities located at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. A consortium of twenty-five institutions joined together to encourage research and to experiment in many aspects of higher education.

The Union began with a grant of $415,000 from the United States Office of Education. The Ford Foundation gave an additional $400,000. Recently UNESCO gave an additional grant of $10,000 to begin plans for a University Without Walls abroad.

Among the participating institutions are:

The University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts
Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio
Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina
The University of South Carolina, Columbia South Carolina
Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York
Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont
Howard University, Washington, D.C.
Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri
Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York
Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri

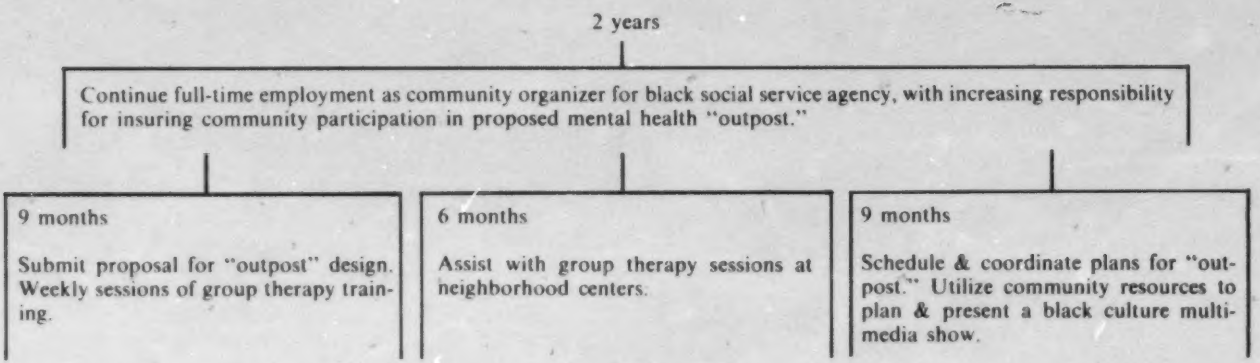
In general, the plan of UWW is based on flexibility and individual responsibility of self direction. The UWW's annual report reflects this flexibility as it relates the general plan.

> In the course of planning, each University Without Walls institution agreed to develop its UWW program around certain key ideas which constitute the basic components of the UWW plan. These included:
>
> 1. Inclusion of a broad age range of persons (16 to 60 and older) so as to provide an opportunity for persons of all ages to secure an undergraduate education and to make for a new mix of age ranges in our programs of undergraduate education.

2. Involvement of students, faculty members, and administrators in the design and development of each UWW unit.
3. Development of special seminars and other procedures to prepare students to learn on their own and to keep students and faculty in touch with each other; development of special training programs to prepare faculty members for the new instructional procedures to be used in the UWW plan.
4. Employment of flexible time units so that a student could spend varying periods of time in a particular kind of program experience. Programs were to be individually tailored by student and advisor. There would be no fixed curriculum and no uniform time schedule for the award of the degree.
5. Use of a broad array of resources for teaching and learning, both in and out of the classroom. Development of the Inventory of Learning Resources as a guide for program planning.
6. Use of an adjunct faculty of government officials, business executives, persons from community agencies, scientists, artists, and others as a regular part of the UWW's instructional staff; development of an extensive seminar-in-the-field program to draw on skills and experiences of this adjunct faculty.
7. Opportunities for students to use the resources of other UWW units.
8. Concern for both cognitive and effective learning; development of new assessment procedures, with periodic evaluations to include both students and their advisors.[11]

Students proceed at their own pace at UWW and the graphic representations below illustrate the various stages and sequences of learning experiences in which a student might engage.

Mr. W.; age 25; presently working in community organization field; has had two years of college; would like to work toward undergraduate degree in field of community organization.


2 years
Continue full-time employment as community organizer for black social service agency, with increasing responsibility for insuring community participation in proposed mental health "outpost."
9 months
Submit proposal for "outpost" design. Weekly sessions of group therapy training.
6 months
Assist with group therapy sessions at neighborhood centers.
9 months
Schedule & coordinate plans for "outpost." Utilize community resources to plan & present a black culture multimedia show.

Concurrent independent readings in sociology, psychology, black history, etc.; weekly meetings with adviser; advanced course work in community planning and human relations.

Miss C.; age 18; entering college freshman; interested in work with children; would like to combine with interest in photography.[12]

1 year

9 months		3 months
Independent study in educational psychology; weekly meetings with adviser. College course in sociology; one-half time internship at children's learning center; project—plan and establish extra-curricular photography program for grades 3-6 at elementary school.		Part-time internship at youth agency neighborhood center; independent reading in child psychology; diagnosis of learning problems.

It has not been easy for these institutions, each with a history of independence, various tuition rates, and programs to cooperate and work as a unit. It is firmly believed that the UWW benefits from its very diversity. The role of the Central office located at Antioch has been one of a catalyst, or a coordinating agent.

The UWW has been very successful, and already ancillary projects have emerged such as the following:

Drug and Alcohol Rehabilitation

At the initiation of the National Institute for Mental Health (NIMH), the Union has held several meetings with staff members of NIMH about adapting UWW to the rehabilitation and staff development needs of drug and alcohol abuse centers. As a result, the Union has submitted a proposal for joint funding by NIMH and the U.S. Office of Education. Under the plan, Northeastern Illinois University and Chicago State University would collaborate with the Illinois Drug Abuse Center in a UWW program designed to meet program and educational needs of staff members and patients at the Illinois Drug Abuse Center. A similar program is contemplated in Philadelphia, where the Urban Education Center, an affiliate of Antioch College, would collaborate with the Eagleville Drug Abuse Treatment Center and other agencies in the development of a comparable UWW program for patients and staff at the Eagleville Center. The Union would be the accountable agent and would co-ordinate and evaluate the project, attempting to determine whether it should be replicated with other drug abuse centers.

Penal Institutions

Northeastern Illinois University is negotiating with the State Corrections Department to establish UWW programs in various corrections units. Programs might include both inmates and prison guards. (The University of Minnesota already has 4 students pursuing programs from behind bars.) Loretto Heights College, Shaw University, Antioch, and other institutions intend to work with local corrections units.

International Component

In addition to a network of institutions in this country, the original proposal of the University Without Walls contemplated the development of UWW units in other countries. A grant from the United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization will enable the Union to undertake conferences with institutions abroad as potential UWW units. The first conference was held in the late spring and summer of 1972.

UWW as a Model for Teacher Preparation

As previously mentioned, one of the UWW units has just received a Title VII bilingual education grant to assist Navajos, working as

aides and trainees in two Navajo schools to acquire undergraduate degrees and teaching certificates. The program being developed for these persons builds on the basic ideas of the UWW model.

More recently, the Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Preparation of Teachers brought together several presidents of UWW institutions and other educators to explore new ideas for the preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers and implications that the UWW model might have for such teacher-training programs. A number of ideas emerged from this conference as to ways in which the University Without Walls model might be more directly applied in the preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers. These ideas included (1) local communities might take initiative in recruiting, training, and accrediting the teachers and school administrators they desire; (2) potential good teachers might be indentified in early adolescence and given guided experience in teaching projects; (3) pairing students well-versed in theory with para-professionals rich in experience may be educative for both; and (4) a new professional role in education, the street worker, employed by schools, is emerging. A proposal is now being prepared on how UWW units might test these ideas.[14]

High School-College UWW Model

As a result of inquiries from several superintendents of schools, high school teachers, and principals, the Union is contemplating a high school-college unit where students might begin UWW programs early in high school and move directly from there into a college UWW unit. Initial discussions have been held with Dr. Harvey Scribner, Chancellor of the New York City School system, and the Union hopes to evolve a proposal in cooperation with Dr. Scribner's office in the near future.[15] A meeting is also being planned with a committee of school superintendents (a subcommittee of the Commission on Education and the Preparation of Teachers) to explore such ideas.

SUMMARY

American higher education is presently on the threshold of a new era. The costs of education have encouraged the emergence of new forms of management and non-traditional programs. The flexibility and independent study inherent in the non-traditional programs cited in this chapter provide the educational benefits occurred from self-directed learning as well as cost savings.

Although the non-traditional movement is an answer to the will for the social influences in American society, one must be aware that evaluation on a continuous basis is needed.

Thurman White, a pioneer in non-traditional education has

suggested numerous indicators that could be used for examining non-traditional educational programs.[15]

If a person is to become a successful learner throughout his life, there must be self-direction as well as the knowledge about how to obtain those resources which will enable him to continue his education. Non-traditional studies holds the promise for such self education.

FOOTNOTES

[1]*Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 9, 1973, p. 7.

[2]*Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 9, 1973, p. 7.

[3]*Community and Junior College Journal*, Open Education, March 1973, p. 12-14.

[4]Malcolm S. Knowles, *The Modern Practice of Adult Education*, New York: Associated Press; 1970, p. 38.

[5]Robert E. Nager and Kenneth M. Beach, Jr., *Developing Vocational Instruction*, Palo Alto: Tearon Publishers, 1967, p. 2.

[6]For a more generalized discussion see: Samuel Postelthwait, "Planning for Better Learning", G. Kerry Smith, (ed.) *In Search of Leaders*, Washington, D.C.: A.A.H.E., 1967.

[7]B. Lamar Johnson, *Island of Innovation Expanding: Changes in the Community College*, California: Glencoe Press, 1969, p. 100.

[8]Lee J. Betts, Non-Traditional Education and the Community College, (unpublished MS.).

[9]Roy Troutt, *Special Degree Programs for Adults. Exploring Non-traditional Degree Programs in Higher Education* Iowa City: American College Testing Program, 1971, p. 10.

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 13.

[11]*The University Without Walls: A First Report* Yellow Springs, Ohio: Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities, 1972, p. 12.

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 11.

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 101.

[14]*Ibid.*, pp. 43-46.

[15]Dr. Scribner is currently a professor at the University of Massachusetts.

[16]Lee J. Betts, *Non-Traditional Education and the Community College. A Concern for Quality*. p. 14, (unpublished MS.)

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The Influence of Consortia in Reshaping American Higher Education

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During the last decade a variety of factors evolved which set the stage for the development of the consortial movement. A diversity of influences has had a common effect; that is, a climate was established which condoned the attitude that institutions of higher education can complement one another. This chapter will study these factors and speculate on their long range impact.

Prior to this examination a definition of what a consortium is would be helpful. In the *Encyclopedia of Education* Eldon L. Johnson wrote, ". . .a consortium in higher education is a voluntary combination of three or more higher educational institutions for the joint attainment of one or more mutually desired objectives through formal machinery, usually characterized by special officers, a representative policy-making body, a separate budget, authority to sustain and extend itself as a new corporate entity, and common programs distinct from those of the constituent members."[1]

In 1968 Raymond Moore defined a consortium as, "an arrangement whereby two or more institutions—at least one of which is an institution of higher education—agree to pursue between, or among, them a program for strengthening academic programs, improving administration, or providing for other special needs."[2]

The factors which have influenced the development of consortia might be classified under two major headings. The forces directly encouraging cooperation will be discussed first; and then, secondly, the indirect forces.

The economic retrenchment of the late '60's forced many academic administrators to think in a way completely foreign to their experience. Their professional concerns had only been with increasing numbers of students, development of new programs, new federal and state funds, and expanding campuses and budget support for all of these sectors. There seems to be an inherent human quality that says *cooperate* when the going gets tough. During the last five years the going has been tough. "Accountability" was a term which received considerable notice at the same time that costs for everything skyrocketed.

So it has been in higher education that administrators have agreed to some cooperative efforts. They have agreed to cooperate, sometimes reluctantly, assuming that their joint efforts would save money. The assumption has proven to be false in most cases. Henry A. Acres wrote, "The consortia arrangement, however, has not yet proved its ability to relieve members of their immediate cash squeeze, and institutions about to enter - or already in - consortia should be realistic about their expectations".[3] The only consortia which have saved money are those whose founding purpose was to seek economy. When cooperation was sought in order to economize by volume purchase of supplies and equipment, savings have been realized. Further fiscal efficiency has been gained by the joint utilization of equipment and the purchasing of services.

Acres feels that to date consortia have not saved money and therefore, "The next phase in consortia development *may* focus on programs designed to save funds. To date, however, such a goal is more aspiration than achievement."[4] The clear statement is that consortia have not demonstrated the fiscal efficiency that had been anticipated.

In spite of the fact that consortia have generally not proven to save money, they have increased the services provided and improved the quality of many programs. Although one of the original reasons for cooperation has not been substantiated, the successes enjoyed thus far are indicative of the potential which consortia hold. The federal government as well as several states have encouraged cooperation. The encouragement has come by word of mouth and directly in guidelines. For example, Title III, the "Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education" and in Illinois the "Higher Education Cooperation Act" have both specifically encouraged cooperation.

Some consortia have been organized strictly as a reaction to guidelines published by tax supported and private agencies. It is almost axiomatic that interinstitutional cooperation based solely on the potential of additional income will fail. This does not refute the fact that cooperation has been encouraged by philanthropic foundations and governmental agencies.

Some consortia have been developed to provide more and better services for their students and faculty of member institutions. As the job market became a concern, institutions which were geographically close cooperated in collectively strengthening their placement services. Certainly consortia have brought to light many formal and informal

arrangements for cross registration and/or cooperative teaching assignments.

One of the most responsible positions in private education has been the Director of Admissions. In a sense, he has controlled the budget of the smaller private schools since 75% or more of their operating capital comes from tuition. More recently the tax supported institutions have likewise had an admissions staff "on the road". Several consortia, such as The Associated Colleges of the Midwest and the Union of Independent Colleges of Art, have been most influential in promoting cooperative admissions activities. Since social and economic pressures to attend college are waning, this is a most promising activity.

The consortia movement can help small schools survive. In the ERIC Report, "Consortia in American Higher Education", Lewis Patterson wrote, "By pooling their students and other resources for special programs, member institutions in a consortium can mount new programs that were not feasible unilaterally because of their limited number of students."[1] This is one of the most prudent ways for a small school to provide the breadth of opportunity for its students and still retain the small-private-liberal-arts identity. Today's students have expectations far beyond what the small institution can individually provide.

Students are no longer attending college to avoid the draft. Certainly because the job market is flooded with college graduates, youth are quick to point out that a college education does *not* guarantee employment of any kind. The concern for humanizing our society, and the emphasis on social welfare has had an impact away from materialism with a consequent down-play of the social-status need for all 18-22 year old youth to be in college. And finally, there are fewer 18 year olds now than there were in the 60's. Each of these factors has had an impact on the thinking of administrators and faculty. As enrollments have stabilized or decreased, many professors have looked for more effective ways of relating to their constituents.

Consortia provide a way for institutions to respond to the pressures for involvement in social concerns. Consortia may also be responsive to a society with more leisure time - consequently more time for either full-time or part-time study.

A final factor which has had a direct effect on the development of consortia is the recent influence that state legislatures have brought to bear on institutions and faculty. President Perry of Florida International University has suggested "a new slogan for American Higher Education - Service or Silence." This attitude is supported by many sectors, and the consortia movement is one way of responding quickly and strongly.

A number of indirect, subtle factors have likewise had their effect on higher education. The knowledge explosion, which is not subtle, has meant that universities need to bring more continuing education opportunities to their constituents. Several years ago Margaret Mead suggested that for most occupations it was necessary to retool every five years. The impetus for additional schooling is clear if the average occupation

becomes obsolete in five years. Each year we also have more new job titles added than are deleted. Some of the people who take up the new jobs will need special training or education. The point is that the labor force faces both of these situations which requires employees to gain new skills or competencies. One of the ways of updating people is through the educational opportunities a consortium can provide.

A second indirect factor influencing cooperation in higher education is the general mobility of the public. This is particularly true for the young, upward moving executive. The young college graduate is given a variety of job assignments during his first few years of employment. Typically, the business or industrial firm will assign a person to a two or three year position, and then will move him to a new site with increased responsibilities. Mobility such as this might tend to discourage the return to school. However, if a consortium can be a catalyst to increase transfer credit possibilities and decrease residence regulations, more students will be enrolled.

The transient nature of our population has encouraged institutions to modify their age-old arbitrary transfer and residence requirements. This has been very clearly demonstrated at the Quad-Cities Graduate Study Center. Nine of the ten institutions have reduced their residence requirements and at the same time modified their transfer policies. Three of the five institutions geographically removed from the Quad-Cities do not require on-campus study.

It must be recognized that the consortia movement is only one of the ways that higher education has responded to the pressures of the past decade. Other chapters in this book delve into specific ways that colleges and universities have been modified. Many of these changes are temporal, but it is anticipated that the next decade will see many new consortia evolve.

As the "state of the art" becomes refined, I believe that consortial influence will increase greatly. The rationale for this speculation is spelled out in the next few pages.

Voluntary consortia are able to be more responsive to the public in a variety of ways - course content being one of the most basic. Inasmuch as consortia are offering programs and courses at industrial plants or for persons employed full-time, course work will be relevant. Faculty do not have federal research funds; the lush consulting opportunities have diminished; but interaction with men and women - on the job has been increased by many consortia. As far as many faculty are concerned, consortia have brought a renewed emphasis to *teaching* and *service*. This is not meant to exclude the excellent cooperative research efforts coming out of consortia such as the Argonnne University Association. Course content is modified to fit the application of knowledge in a manner similar to the adjustments which have been made in course sequencing. Academic consortia have caused faculty to focus on more realistic course content, times offered, and location. Because several institutions are involved, it has become much easier to bring education "to the people".

Extension deans have had that opportunity previously, but the consortia movement has given these activities a more academic respectability. Further, a singie institution is often not in a position to commit the resources which can be mustered collectively.

In a sense consortia have forced institutions of higher education to a more mature attitude. Until recently many institutions have selfishly guarded their "ivory towers" and have had a childish ego-centric attitude. They have thought, "What's in it for me?" or "We've always done it this way", or "I don't have to change". Institutions have isolated themselves from one another. Like isolated children, they have found it very difficult to learn to work together. Some institutions have also isolated themselves from their communities. Consortia have served as a medium for changing these attitudes.

Because consortia have provided a vehicle for persons of comparable responsibilities to interact, the comment has often been heard that a faculty member had to go 700 miles to a professional meeting to learn what his counterpart two-miles away was doing. College presidents in a small geographic area seldom sought advice and counsel of each other in the phasing out of old programs or the development of new ones.

Consortia have provided the vehicle, not only for cooperative efforts with minority group or store front learning, but for every phase of learning, teaching, planning and administration.

Competition has been one of the means by which higher education has gained strength. It sometimes appears that colleges and universities have emulated the law of the jungle - "survival of the fittest". Institutions have competed for federal, state, and private money as well as for students and faculty. The proliferation of autonomous institutions has only magnified and made more vicious the fight for survival. The saving grace up to now has been the availability of money and the population explosion. In recent years actions of the public indicated the only "right thing to do" was to go to college. Eldon L. Johnson has written that there finally is a compensating reaction to our history of overproliferation of colleges and universities. Institutions are building connecting links, councils, confederations and consortia. These interinstitutional bonds have at least abated the development of new institutions. Later in the same article he wrote, "This evolution is now advocated by many of the nations' most knowledgeable educational statesmen: foundation heads, presidents of the most prestigious educational associations, and top federal officials".[6] Again he had reference to the fact that some consortia have been the means by which places, people, or currently existing institutions have been able to provide a service or academic program which was deemed essential. It has beome the logical thing to do.

Through the strength that consortia represent, institutions in some situations have been able to initiate a variety of programs - manyof which have been assessed as exceedingly beneficial. The Kansas City Regional Council for Higher Education has been able to secure grants and subsequently provide their students and institutions several interesting

programs. One of the more creative ones is the Cooperative Social Welfare Action Program (CO-SWAP). Consortia have revamped the thinking about international programs, which very few institutions had the money or personnel to execute. The Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE) has given all higher education a model to pursue in the effective, cooperative use of computers.

The flexibility of consortia and the typical institutional diversity provide a framework for building the new emphasis on life-long learning. If the consortium is in a fairly well defined geographic area, then the institutions can respond collectively with a comprehensive package of adult continuing education activities. Obviously this type of cooperation can and has taken place without the formal involvement which a consortium implies. However, the consortium provides a forum for such interaction and certainly further implies acceptance of these responsibilities to the public.

A final function, which appears to be ideally suited to the strength which a consortium represents, is that institutions have an opportunity to capitalize on the use of technological teaching and/or learning media. The Association for Graduate Education and Research of North Texas (TAGAR) is without a doubt the most singularly successful television teaching situation. The University of Illinois has its Univex Net and PLATO. Both of these - Univex Net for teaching and PLATO for learning - are electronic devices originating from a single institution. During the next ten years most such fruits of diligent research will be supported by several institutions. Even the large and wealthy institutions can gain educational and financial benefits through the cooperative use of technology.

This final section focuses on the fact that consortia provide a vehicle for cooperation in higher education. In considering this topic, it is essential to state that, while consortia are one of the forces which is shaping higher education, they are doing it on a voluntary or on at least an acceptance level. It must be recognized that consortia are totally dependent upon cooperation; therefore, in a political sense, they cannot demand anything of the institutions or their representatives. However, the clout of "social pressure" must not be underestimated. Many of the changes that consortia have effected have come out of committee meetings or meetings of interinstitutional councils.

In this regard William C. Nelsen admonished that, ". . .consortia cannot be content to operate at the fringes of the academic enterprise nor to bolster outmoded educational models. Consortia must begin to play the roles of educational entrepreneurs and innovators more so than they ever have before".[7] To the degree that consortia act as innovators or entrepreneurs, they will gain strength and stature. They will then be able to influence higher education to a much greater degree than previously thought possible.

Consortia have been able to encourage numerous library and instructional material exchanges. Some consortia have been set up for the

sole purpose of library exchange. One of the early modern-era consortia, The Associated Colleges of the Midwest, has had a very successful and extensive library and periodical exchange program.

A second type of cooperation which has been greatly facilitated by the consortia movement is cooperative or joint usage of certain specialized facilities on or off-campus. The Argonne University Association has provided many institutions, faculty, and students a unique opportunity to work and research using expensive, sophisticated equipment, which none could have afforded alone. In a similar fashion the computer at the University of Illinois has been used by numerous institutions.

Some of the archaic institutional rules, regulations, and policies have been modified through the influence of consortia. Some faculties and administrators have accepted the basic tenet that a one-night a week evening class on-campus is no more or less academically stimulating than it would be if it were taught in a library or high school building 75 miles away. It has been further agreed that in similar institutions, course content will be parallel in similarly described courses. Concessions such as this were not difficult to achieve when the institutional representatives admitted to themselves and others that two faculty members on a single campus would be likely to teach a course as differently as two faculty members from different campuses.

Consortia from both coasts have had programs of cross registration. Interinstitutional student exchange is conceptually the same and has been going on for some time. One of the first examples of student exchange was instituted by the Committee on Institutional Cooperation which consists of The Big Ten Universities and the University of Chicago. In the C.I.C. exchange a student from one of the eleven institutions studies full-time at another institution for a semester or two quarters. He, in effect, becomes a full-time resident at another institution. This program has been operative for many years but has been available only for advanced graduate students. Consideration is now being given to extending the opportunity to other students.

The main difference between cross-registration and student exchange appears to be the degree of involvements. Cross registration is more easily implemented, but not without stress, by institutions in the same community or at least by those for which commuting distances are not prohibitive. A student may be enrolled concurrently on two or more campuses although the fees and administrative details are handled by his home campus. Examples of this type of cooperation can be observed at the Consortium of Universities of the Washington Metropolitan Area, the Worcester Consortium for Higher Education or the San Francisco Consortium on Higher Education and Urban Affairs. In the next few years I anticipate that much of this kind of cooperation will be implemented.

The consortium is one medium by which several institutions can work together in urban planning and in urban problems. If several institutions cooperate in the collection and analysis of census information,

local employment trends, and the assessment of social concerns, they can all benefit. The interpretation of census and employment date will assist all institutions in their long-range planning. Further, they can then be more aware of each other's individual interpretations and priorities on how the data would affect them.

Finally, consortia can have more latitude in experimental programs. The piloting through of a trial program can be the expense of several institutions. Typically, faculty and administrators are more willing to be flexible away from their home campus. Apparently some feel that if the pilot program fails it will not upset the "apple cart" at home.

The Quad-Cities Graduate Study Center is an exciting example of an academic consortium. Ten institutions located in Iowa and Illinois, which are public and private, rural and urban, large and small, local and distant, comprise the Center. It demonstrates how interinstitutional cooperation can serve to the mutual benefit of institutions, states and a specific geographic area. The Graduate Center is one example of the potential for integrated programs.

In 1973 significant action in interstate cooperation took place when Minnesota and Wisconsin announced they would not charge out-of-state tuition for each other. The Graduate Center membership agreed to this four years ago. These actions seem to indicate changes in attitudes which will be seen as another breakthrough or milestone in higher education.

Neither Iowa nor Illinois could afford to build an autonomous institution in the Quad-Cities, which has a population base of about one half million. Institutions in both states felt that they could contribute but did not have the manpower to provide a program independently. Further, the fine local liberal arts colleges were interested in graduate programs but recognized that their first mission precluded extensive graduate involvement.

Each of the ten member institutions provides instruction in the Quad-Cities. The academic program committees determine what courses will be offered based upon local need analysis and the experience of previous years. Typically the institutions can offer courses in their strongest disciplines, since that is where they have strength and larger faculties. Consequently, as a degree program is pursued, a student will be exposed to the best of the faculty from several institutions and will have a better degree sequence than would be available on any of the individual campuses. Integrated programs such as those pursued by students at the Graduate Center obviously require grossly modified academic regulations. Since the incorporation of the Center in 1969, policies pertaining to credit transfers have been modified by nine of the ten institutions. The regulations concerning residency have been relaxed or eliminated by all of the institutions. Both of these changes were essential to the success of the locally offered integrated degree sequences.

In the development of consortia several administrators have cautioned that each one is unique and therefore model building is inappropriate. One aspect of the Center can be emulated without violating

that admonition. The funding of the Center makes it as solid or stable as can be reasonably expected. There is no "soft money" involved. During the first four years the community and both states supported the Center. The community felt a great commitment to the Center and its anticipated contribution to the growth of the Quad-Cities. Due to the deep local involvement, the community pledged one-half of the operating expenses as seed money for the first four years. The remaining 50% of the budget was apportioned, based on population, with 15% requested from Iowa and 35% from Illinois. It was anticipated that, if at the end of three or four years the Center did not prove itself to be a viable agency, some other base for graduate education would have to be established.

For the fifth year the Center received funds from the higher education appropriations of both states. It appears that the Center has developed adequate stature in the minds of the public and the legislative bodies so that financial stability is assured.

Due to the composition of the Center's Governing Board there is a balance between academic credibility and local graduate needs. The Governing Board is composed of a representative of each of the ten institutions and seven local industrial and business executives. The primary responsibility of the institutional representatives is to review academic programs and academic policy matters. The task of local members of the Board is to provide the base for seeking local financial support and to keep current the assessment of local needs.

The Center has proven to be academically viable, administratively possible and economically feasible. What about students? In the 1973-74 year there were 4462 registrations representing in excess of 2,500 individuals. Since about 95% of the students at the Center are employed full-time, essentially all of the classes are in the evening. The registrations represent about 12,000 student semester hours, converted to a full-time student basis, that constitutes a student body in excess of 600, placing the Center in the upper half of graduate schools in terms of enrollment.

It appears to me that the consortia movement will grow and grow rapidly during the next ten years. I believe that the *sharing* of faculty, students, facilities, and services will become commonplace for all institutions which are geographically close. I further believe that the integration of programs, as exemplified by the Quad-Cities Graduate Study Center, will be commonplace for geographic areas that need new or expanded educational opportunities.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Eldon L. Johnson, *Encyclopedia of Education*, Vol. II. MacMillan 1971.

[2]Raymond S. Moore, *Consortiums in American Higher Education: 1965-66 Report of an Exploratory Study*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 1968.

[3]Henry A. Acres, *Liberal Education*, Vol. 57, May 1971.

[4]Henry A. Acres, *Liberal Education*, Vol. 57, May 1971. (Ibid.)

[5]Lewis D. Patterson, *Consortia in American Higher Education*, Report 7,

ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, November 1970.

[6]Eldon L. Johnson, *Educational Record*, Vol. 47-48, Fall 1967.

[7]William C. Nelson, *Society for College and University Planning*, Vol. 3, April 1972.

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ROBERT S. AISNER

The Changing Face of College Admissions

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The process of college admissions, like the stock market or history, is a very cyclical one. From time to time, the admissions scene can be characterized as either bearish or bullish. To complicate matters further, depending on one's point of view, it may be bearish and bullish at the same time. During the past decade, there has been a tremendous change in the admissions picture; one which many believe will influence college admissions for decades to come. In order fully to appreciate this change and its effect on the future we must look at and understand the past. Only by investigating the historical development of the admission process can we recognize the new face of college admissions in the 1970's.

S.A. Kendrick of the College Board recently summarized the college admissions process when he observed: "As everyone knows, it is the business and special pleasure of admissions officers to thwart the legitimate aspirations of the young. Their professional tools are the computer, multiple-choice tests, and a cultivated disregard of humanity."[1] Although admissions officers everywhere would take exception to this statement, it does make two important points. First, it reflects on the outsider's view of the admissions process during recent years; and, secondly, it focuses on two controversial areas and the seeming monsters they have become: the selection process and standardized tests.

The selection process has always been the great and mysterious foundation on which college admissions has relied. To an insider, selection consists of three phases: search, appraisal, and then selection. To many outsiders, this process is perfectly described in Mr. Kendrick's

statement and many high school students and their parents have found themselves unnerved at the thought of being subjected to this process. What they fail to understand is that the selection process affects the institution as well as the individual. Both must search, appraise, and select; yet the individual ultimately controls the selection process more than he realizes. History shows that most of the selection process is completed prior to the actual application process. This realization causes an uneasiness among admissions officers. Three basic factors influence not only *where* an individual will apply, but *if* he will apply at all: socioeconomic origin, early environment and level of aspiration. For those who wish to enter higher education, their parents and neighborhoods have had a tremendous influence.

During the early 1800's and prior to the Morrill Act, college existed only for a small number of high school graduates. These students came mainly from the upper middle class and represented only those families in which all three of the above factors, socioeconomic origin, early environment and level of aspiration, were positive. This limited mode of education was disrupted in 1862 with the passage of the Morrill Act establishing land-grant colleges. In sharp contrast to the colonial tradition of education, and foreshowing today's educational trends, the land-grant colleges tended to be "open-door" institutions. The passage of the Morrill Act, coinciding with the Industrial Revolution, reflected a growing need for more educated people. This demand remained high into the 1900's until the Depression took its toll nationwide.

The admissions picture in the 1930's was grim. Suffering low enrollments and low incomes, colleges engaged in heavy recruitment activity. During this period colleges were forced to search out students in order to survive. In retrospect, the development of recruiting techniques in the 30's has proved to be time well spent.

The decline in the student market was finally reversed with the end of World War II and the advent of the G.I. Bill. The returning veterans, taking advantage of this unique form of federal aid, flooded public colleges and universities and attendance levels rose to unprecedented heights. The admissions officer once again was free to appraise, and select only a small percentage of the total applicants. B.A. Thresher, in his book *College Admissions and the Public Interest,* refers to this process as "The Great Sorting."[2] The G.I. Bill did not, however, affect the private college in the same manner. Although people were motivated to go on to college, the high cost of private education was not completely covered by the Bill's funding. Thus, the admissions office was alive with potential students, but financial aid proved to be a deterrent. At this time, most private institutions were not endowed with large sums of financial aid. Consequently, private education did not receive the same influx that had occurred in the public sector.

Typical of all cyclical occurrences, the sudden wave of veterans ended just as quickly as it had begun, although a similar transfusion would occur after the Korean conflict. The early 1950's saw a scarcity of

students once again. Unlike earlier periods, the 1950's were unique in that there were large numbers of highly able students but they lacked the necessary motivation. Due to this apathy, admissions officers were agin forced to solicit students. As a consequence, the second and third phases of the selection process, appraisal and selection, became less important; while the search, or recruitment, phase became all important. The potential pool of applicants had weeded itself out and steps had to be taken to insure total enrollments. Finally, unlike the 1930's, Ralph Berdie found that finances alone were not the cause of the drop in applications. Social forces, one of the three dominant factors influencing the selection process, had lessened the demand for education, creating a bearish admissions situation and a period in which recruitment would be the key to survival.[1]

The word "survival" remained critical in the 1960's, but the question of whose survival became confused. The 1960's, the "baby boom" years, created a tremendous demand for college-educated persons. To meet this demand, admissions offices reacted with their classical approach — competitive selection. As dormitories and classrooms filled, the job of the admissions officer no longer depended on recruitment, but rather on appraisal and selection: the other two phases of the admissions process. The best and the worst colleges engaged in the same selection games. The only difference was that the best selected a minority of applicants while the worst selected a majority. During the 1960's all colleges became selective. Many educators, looking back at this period, now wonder whether some young people became disenchanted with the overselection which occurred.

In justifying this over-selectivity two factors are usually cited: (1) Since colleges teach difficult and sometimes esoteric matter, only the best will cope and survive. The faculty reinforces this situation by creating a "survival of the fittest" environment. B.A. Thresher poses the question as to whether this approach limits faculty innovation and lessens the demand for their talent — cannot bright students learn from anyone? (2) The theory that a college will ultimately rely on its graduates to carry on its good name. Based on this two hypotheses, the main tools of admissions in the 1960's were multiple choice tests and other quantitive methods of ability analysis. For both the college and the student, the selection process was self-serving and self-perpetuating. The student wanted to matriculate, and, therefore, was at the mercy of the "system." The college wanted to survive and prosper, so it continued to seek only the most qualified students. Thresher summarizes this vicious circle when he writes:

> "The tacit presupposition is that the college seeks, and should have, more students, or 'better' students, or both. Such questions as whether the college deserves more or better students, or whether some of its students might better, in their own interest and in the public interest, go to college elsewhere, lie outside the purview of

this body of thought. The typical admissions committee, like the faculty and the administration it represents, is in the candid phrase of one such committee, "greedy" for talent."[4]

Colleges are generally quite willing to tell the applicant, "You are not good enough for us." Few ever say, "We are not good enough for you."[5]

As competition became more vigorous, use of standardized tests became integral in the selection process. Although standardized tests had been used for many years, it was not until the decade 1942-1952 that they became generally accepted as valid admissions tools. This acceptance coincided with the ending of World War II, the passage of the G.I. Bill, and the subsequent influx of veterans into the educational system. The use of tests became even more widespread during the sixties as competition peaked. The tests were seen as a useful adjunct in the appraisal phase of the admissions process. Prior to the development of these tests, both colleges and students found themselves in a chaotic situation, trying to appraise and select from great numbers.

As the pressure on the admissions office increased, so did their reliance on tests. It was not until the late 1960's that a widespread concern developed regarding the misuse or overuse of these tests. Many admissions officers were concerned that the test had become an exaggerated predictor of success. As a result both the College Entrance Examination Board and the American College Testing Service undertook self studies,[6] seeking to assure themselves and their patrons of the objectivity of the tests. Later in this chapter we shall examine the changes that were made in the tests and the present view in which they are held.

In order fully to appreciate the present admissions problem, we must examine recent federal legislation which has had a tremendous impact on this process. It has been shown that the G.I. Bill was among the first pieces of legislation to have a dramatic effect on the admissions process and may have precipitated the extensive use of standardized tests. The Federal Government, aware that funding would increase the motivation to attend college, took a major step in 1965 and passed the Higher Education Act. Included in this Act were three major pieces of legislation: The Equal Opportunity Grant, The Guaranteed Student Loan Program, and The College Work/Study Program. The latter was only a revision of the program as originally established in the Economic Act of 1964. This new Work/Study Program was a major step forward in funding those students who previously had limited access to higher education. The Equal Opportunity Grant was a drastic change in philosophy from the National Defense Student Loan Program (now known as The National Direct Student Loan Program) which had been relied on since 1959.

The Equal Opportunity Grant was the first non-reimburseable loan established precisely to aid lower income families and thus heighten their educational opportunities. The third phase of the Higher Education Act, the Guaranteed Student Loan Program, created a source of funding (originally $1000 at 6% interest) for families who could not qualify for the

EOG Program but who nonetheless needed assistance. This combination of programs reflected the commitment in Washington to all those who aspire to higher education but who had, until the Act, been denied because of a lack of funds. This commitment removed one of the self-selecting factors mentioned earlier (socioeconomic origin), and inserted a large flow of students into the admissions scope. Simultaneously, the post war "baby boom" had caused an increased demand for education and the mid-1960's found the selection process in high gear. It was to remain so until the end of the decade.

The beginnings of the new cycle could be seen by astute educators during the 1960's. However, most admissions officers were too busy appraising and selecting and thus were caught unprepared by rapidly changing admissions patterns. The changes occurred in all phases of the admissions process. Fewer students were attending college; those who were attending were matriculating at different types of institutions; their career goals were greatly influenced in their choice of majors and thereby the choice of colleges; and new types of students were involving themselves in the educational process. All of this resulted in a re-evaluation of the traditional admissions process.

The most profound influence in the admissions process in recent years has been the decreasing college-bound population. A recent Carnegie Commission report forecast a 12% drop in future enrollment. This decline is caused by a combination of factors. The most influential, of course, is the declining birth rates during the late 1950's and early 1960's. While enrollment levels were soaring, future enrollment indicators were on the wane. A second factor influencing declined enrollment, especially for male high school graduates, was the end of the Vietnam War and the change in the draft laws. Many experts believe that the high enrollments in the 1960's were partially caused by the war and the college deferment policy. College was no longer a necessary evil and one could regard it in a more casual light. Two popular trends resulting from the new freedom are "stop-outs" and deferred admissions. These declining trends had a strong effect on the admissions office. The private college has been hit hardest. Not only are there fewer students to recruit, but students are redistributing themselves among a variety of institutions. This redistribution is most obvious when one considers the recent growth of the public community colleges.

In 1966, 67,000 students enrolled in community or junior colleges in Illinois. It is projected that by 1980, 216,000 students will enroll in these colleges. The situation in Illinois is not atypical of the tremendous growth in enrollments in the two-year community colleges. As access to higher education has become an established fact, the public community college has received the largest injection of new students. Most private and many public institutions have watched this growth with mixed emotions. On the one hand, the opening up of the educational process has been a tremendous step forward in terms of increased social mobility; on the other hand, while the college-age population has been shrinking,

significant growth has been limited to the public two-year colleges.

This growth can be characterized in three ways. First, the growth can be attributed to the "open-door" approach to admissions. Originally pioneered at The City University of New York, "open-door" admissions practices have now become widespread and well established. All admissions officers and most educators feared that "open-door" policies would lower the standards of the university. The hope behind the open-door approach was that it would overcome years of injustice, not that it would destroy educational standards. John Millett, former Chancellor of the Ohio Board of Regents, states effectively the positive influence of open-admissions:

> "Open admissions does not necessarily mean the abandonment of standards of academic performance in our institutions of higher education. Open admissions does mean a continuing appraisal of these standards in relation to the various intellectual, manpower and social objectives of higher education."

Second, the ability levels of these students vary from very low to very high. For those whose level is high and who plan to transfer, (two-thirds indicate they plan to transfer) the question then falls on the admissions office at the transfer school. Should these students be guaranteed transfer into a public university? Should transfers of lower ability levels be asked to perform at the same level as other students at the college?

Third, many of these community college students are part-time students whose ambition is to continue their education on a part-time basis. Because of the geographical and financial accessibility of the community colleges, many of these students have the opportunity to enter higher education where no opportunity previously existed. Florida boasts that 99.6% of the people living in the state are within commuting distance of a college and by 1975, 47% of the enrollment in higher educational institutions in the state will be in community colleges.

Following population decline and the rise of two-year community colleges, a third factor influencing college admissions today is the emergence of the "disadvantaged" and non-traditional student. A large part of the time spent by admissions officers is being devoted to the search for and appraisal of these two types of students. One frontier for education today is the urban youngster, disadvantaged by virtue of his or her socioeconomic background. The Higher Education Act of 1965 was the first major step in righting the injustices in the educational system. The increased financial commitment by the government was passed on to the college in the form of a suggestion: If you wish to participate in government programs and distribute government funds, you must be prepared to follow some government guidelines. The most important guideline was that the institutions make special efforts to admit and aid students who had previously been denied access to higher education. Thus, the admissions officer had to increase his recruiting activities in

order to attract these new students. Furthermore, decisions regarding appraisal and selection had to be altered in light of the background of the "disadvantaged" student.

Thus "open-admissions" was a major step in increasing access, as was a rethinking of the predicability of the standardized tests. Today the admissions process must be prepared to search, appraise and select from a variety of backgrounds and use a variety of tools.

Even within the traditional search process, a non-traditional student has begun to appear. This student is typically characterized as having some educational knowledge, even though it has not been provided through the formal education process. The College Entrance Examination Board, realizing that the SAT and achievement tests taken by the high school senior were not adequate in evaluating this new student, developed the College Level Examination Program (CLEP). CLEP is designed especially for the non-traditional student in order to measure his knowledge and his college potential. In this way the individual can receive credit for experiences or training. Some colleges are introducing their own "life-experience credits" in the hope of attracting these new students. As the pool of potential students fades, the admissions officer must learn to search in new areas. Armed with CLEP examinations and "life experience credits," he can search for new students who can be influenced to matriculate by recognizing that they have achieved some formal education in non-traditional ways.

The final change in the admissions process today deals with the uses and abuses of standardized tests. Testing problems have become one of today's most pressing issues. As discussed earlier, the heavy reliance on tests as a prediction indicator and a crucial element in the selection process, did not occur until the 1960's, and then only a means of bringing order to a rather chaotic situation. These. . . "psychometrically oriented, mass administered, multiple choice, normative, secure, speedy, pencil-and-paper tests'" have become so crucial, they have caused concern.

One of the central issues today is the determination of why tests are used — do these tests measure what we know or what we don't know? Each individual admissions officer will answer this differently and each answer will be an indication of how these tests are used by that individual. The two general uses of these tests are to assist in the appraisal and selection process, and to assist in the formation of educational policy. In addition, these two uses become intertwined when one realizes that a high school curriculum is often adjusted to aid the test taker. In this way the selection process at the college level may be indirectly dictating the curriculum at the high school level. Recently many high schools have rebelled at this intrusion and have established courses which will in no way aid the test taker. As a result, statistics show a decline in the verbal SAT medians in recent years. College admissions officers have been forced to justify this decline to their faculties in order to provide tables showing the continued high academic quality of entering classes.

Standardized tests can and should be centered on the student. These

tests should be administered and interpreted in order to aid the student and not just to compare him with others. The assumption that tests predict college grades and college grades predict success in later life has not yet been validated. Certain tests do predict college grades, but these grades only predict success in specific areas. Before the admissions officer can begin to use these tests to the student's benefit, faculty must be *shown that tests are a self-fulfilling cycle and that a lower profile may not* mean a less able student body.

B. Alden Thresher describes the "closed feedback" approach of these tests:

> "The court of last resort in the psychometric approach to testing is validity. Normative testing has led to a series of closed feedback loops through the following steps: (1) validation of tests (often combined with other predictors) against college performance as expressed, for example, in grade-point average; (2) prediction or probable performance based on a regression formula derived from this validation; and by (3) selection of entering students according to the formula, thus maximizing correlation between predictor and criterion. This is a tightly constrained system of reasoning that scarcely contemplates the possibility of any changes in conventional faculty-oriented methods of presentation or assessment. Now that something of a revolution in teaching methods is in progress, the reliance on validity as the bedrock foundation in testing is called in question. The uncomfortable possibility appears that some of the most vital and effective devices to stimulate learning do not lend themselves to quantitative assessment in ways which we are accustomed to using. The extraordinary contribution to society made by many college dropouts cast serious doubt on the conventional sequence of validation, prediction and selection."

The use of tests as a predictor of success for the disadvantaged students is now under great scrutiny. As discussed earlier, the entrance of large numbers of these students into the educational process has changed the job of the admissions officer. Part of this change is the adaptation of his assessment tools. It is obvious that competency in English (white, middle-class English) is needed to perform well on those tests. Furthermore, early educational experiences are reflected in the results of these tests. Therefore, we must learn to evaluate these new students in terms of their own competencies and not by the use of classical standards.

The admissions process today — search, appraise and select — is quite different from that of the past decade. The search has become more difficult with the decline in the number of high school graduates. At the same time, the student searching for a college, has become more aware of the options open and has increased flexibility in college choices. This awareness on the part of both the college and the student has created a "buyer's market." Colleges are actively recruiting and many of their methods are questionable. The central theme of the 1974 annual meeting

of the National Association of College Admissions Counselors was that of *ethics*. With the growth in community college enrollments, those colleges recruiting the remaining students must work hard to survive. Many elite and prestigious colleges continue to select only a minority of their applicants but even these colleges are aware of new pressures. The search phase today has, for many institutions, replaced the appraisal and selection phases. Once a student has been found, he or she has been selected.

However, for those colleges still appraising their applicants, there is an increased awareness of the limitations involved. The standardized test has been re-evaluated as a predictive device and most admissions people realize its weaknesses. Furthermore, some admissions officers have begun to question the push for more and better students and are bothered that they cannot always "pick winners." Moreover, other appraisal devices have become less available. The recently Buckley Amendment has made guidance counselors increasingly sensitive in documenting a student's academic shortcomings. High schools have increased the flexibility of their curriculum offerings and many have strayed from traditional grading systems. Without the availability of grades and the classical college curriculum to evaluate, the job of the admissions officer becomes even more difficult.

Recently, the final phase of the process, selection, has become more flexible. Students realize that many colleges need pupils. Even in those cases where selective admissions policies are still practiced, high school guidance counselors are aware of general academic parameters. More and more students are selecting public community colleges and many high-cost private institutions are appealing to the state for assistance. Their appeal is based on the belief that unless the private sector is aided, a valuable alternative to public colleges will vanish. Spokesmen for these colleges also argue that it will cost the taxpayer more to send all students to public colleges and universities than to provide some help for private education.

Increased reliance on recruitment, changing methods of appraisal, and a student controlled selection phase, raise serious problems for the admissions officer. The admissions process of the early 1970's bears no resemblance to that of the 1960's. The cycle has shifted and we are once again in a bearish market. Will this end? What is the future outlook for the admissions process? We should take a brief glance at the future in the hopes of preparing ourselves for the decade ahead. The admissions office was caught unaware in the 1970's but it can prepare itself for the years to come.

Where we go from here is a question most prognosticators are asking themselves. One thing is certain — the "good old days" of rampant applications are gone. The figures contained in Tables I to IV at the end of this chapter paint a bleak picture for enrollments in general, and private college enrollments in particular. In terms of pure numbers, there

will be fewer potential students graduating from high schools in the years ahead. Secondly, in terms of this reduced pool, Tables I, II, and III indicate an enrollment pattern which frightens those in the private sector. Once the governing boards of these private colleges begin to feel the pinch, only one directive will be given to the admissions officer — recruit!

Recruitment pressures will continue to grow during the years ahead. Colleges will begin to seek new ways of contacting and attracting students. I believe we will see more radio and television recruitment. During high school visitations colleges will begin to band together to lower expenses and heighten their attraction. The value in the high school visit itself may be challenged. While all of this is going on, a great cry for ethics and honesty will arise. High school counselors and educators everywhere will become more concerned about the techniques being employed to attract students. This concern will place the admissions officer in a most precarious situation.

He will be in the center of a dangerous triangle of demands. First, he must respond to the directive of his president and board to continue to maintain enrollment levels. They will be less concerned with the method than the result. Secondly, the faculty will continue to demand so-called "better" students. Unaware of outside pressures, they will be unwilling to settle for students of various calibres. Finally, the profession itself will be policing its members to retain their ethics; and, if they do not, public pressure will be sought. In the middle of this turmoil will be the admissions officer.

Although the above situation may deal more directly with the private sector, the decline in numbers will affect public colleges and universities as well. At the same time, all colleges will face other admissions problems. How to compute class rank and how to evaluate ever-changing high school curricula will pose a problem for the admissions office. As the pressure to enter college diminishes and the competition decreases, high schools will be less apt to design new programs. More and more diverse offerings will spring forth with more and more methods of grading. The admissions office must continue to evaluate, but the ability to do so with assurance will be reduced.

The natural solution to this problem would be the reliance on the recommendation as the intricate part of the application. However, with the legal implications of confidentiality, and the advent of the Buckley Amendment, the freedom of the guidance counselor will be reduced.

Guidance counselors themselves have begun to question their ability to predict a student's success at a good institution. Since the guidance counselor has no way either of evaluating the other students at the college, or the educational demands on the student, how can a valid prediction be made? These problems will reduce the use and the usefulness of recommendations.

Needless to say, the job of the admissions officer in the years ahead will become more difficult. He must not only search harder to find new

students, but he must find new tools with which to appraise them. The admissions officer must always keep in mind that his duty is to the student and that the welfare of the student must remain uppermost. Many colleges will close their doors in the next few years and it will be said that those who survived were the fittest. But this survival must not transcend the purpose of college of the admissions process — the education of the individual. The cyclical nature of the admissions process will persist throughout and it is best summarized by David Reisman of Harvard:

> Early on a warm body, a full pocketbook,
> and the right credentials would get you there.
> But then the numbers began to grow
> and how good your credentials came to bear.
> Later on how bright was not enough.
> You had to be made of other stuff.
> First, to reside somewhere afair,
> And then be well-rounded in the extra curricular.
> But then the well-rounded lad
> because his radius was small
> began to look dull after all.
> No attention turned in filling the void
> To the concept known as the oblate spheroid.
> To the lad, mostly well-round still, but wait.
> Who possessed as well some special skill or trait
> Like his way with math, his speed of foot,
> His eye for music or the basketball hoop,
> The rocket he made not just for fun
> or the pile he'll raise for the alumni fund
> . . .the nation of his kin
> . . .or the color of his skin.[10]

FOOTNOTES

[1]S. A. Kendrick, in the *Foreword to College Admissions and the Public Interest*, CEEB, 1966, page iii.

[2]B. A. Thresher, *College Admissions and the Public Interest*, New York: CEEB, 1966, p. 3.

[3]Ralph F. Berdie, *After College—What?*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, page 240.

[4]B. A. Thresher, *College Admissions and the Public Interest*, New York: CEEB, 1966, p. 26.

[5]*Admissions to Harvard College*. A Report by the Special Committee on College Admissions Policy, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1960, p. 56.

[6]College Entrance Examination Board, *Report of the Commission on Tests*, Parts I & II, 1970.

[7]John Millett, "Response to Timothy E. Healy's Paper," in *Barriers to Higher Education*, New York: CEEB, 1971, p. 57.

[8]B. A. Thresher, "Uses and Abuses of Scholastic Aptitude and Achievement Tests," in *Barriers to Higher Education*, New York: CEEB, 1971, p. 32.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 32.

[10]George H. Hanford, "A Look From the Twenty First Century," in *College Admissions Policies for the 1970's*, New York: CEEB, 1968, p. 171.

Appendix

TABLE I: *Summary of enrollment in educational institutions, by institutional level and control 1974-1981:*

Year (fall)	Institutions of higher education (thousands)		Secondary Schools grades 9-12 (thousands)	
	Public	*Private*	*Public*	*Private*
1974	7925	2191	14600	1300
1975	8352	2210	14700	1300
1976	8754	2223	14700	1300
1977	9136	2232	14600	1300
1978	9485	2236	14400	1300
1979	9790	2233	14000	1300
1980	10,066	2227	13500	1300
1981	10,315	2217	13000	1300

TABLE II: *First time degree-credit enrollement in institutions of higher education by type of control, 1974-1981:*

Year (fall)	Total Enrollment (thousands)	Public Control (thousands)	Private Control (thousands)
1974	1162	800	362
1975	1186	829	357
1976	1197	844	353
1977	1209	860	349
1978	1220	876	344
1979	1226	887	333
1980	1224	889	335
1981	1218	888	330

TABLE III: *High School graduates, 1972-73 to 1981-82:*

Year	Total High School Graduates (thousands)
1972-73	3137
1973-74	3250
1974-75	3331
1975-76	3363
1976-77	3390
1977-78	3420
1978-79	3427
1979-80	3409
1980-81	3378
1981-82	3298

TABLE IV: *Summary of Trends in Education: United States 1961-62 to 1981-82*

Characteristic	*Fall* 1961	*Fall* 1971	*Pct. Change* (1961-71)	*Fall* 1981	*Pct. Change* (1971-81)
School-age population:	Thousands			Thousands	
5 - 13	33,461	35,790	7	34,924	-2
14 - 17	12,199	16,343	34	14,734	-10
18 - 21	10,379	14,966	44	16,545	11
Enrollment:					
K - grade 12	43,164	51,281	19	49,800	-3
K - grade 8	32,695	36,165	11	35,500	-2
9 - 12	10,469	15,116	44	14,300	-5
Public	37,464	46,081	23	45,500	-1
K - 8	28,095	32,265	15	32,500	1
9 - 12	9,369	13,816	47	13,000	-6
Nonpublic	5,700	5,200	-9	4,300	-17
Higher Education					
Degree Credit	3,861	8,116	110	11,108	37
Public	2,329	6,014	158	8,937	49
Private	1,532	2,102	38	2,171	3
Four-year	3,343	6,391	91	8,110	27
Two-year	518	1,725	233	2,998	74

HAROLD I. GOODWIN

The Impact of Unions and Collective Bargaining on American Higher Education

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The evolution of unionism in higher education threatens to etch rather indelicately a new design on the fabric of institutional structure and life style. Not that the process of incising on the walls of ivy is a new phenomenom; colleges and universities have suffered similarly down through the decades. What is troubling about unionism is many faceted, but the focus here narrows to a set of factors crucial to an institutional capacity to discharge its intellectual-societal mission.

Among those factors is the placement of higher education squarely in the political arena in ways far beyond any previous dimensions. Then, too, there are increasing signs of a major deterioration not only of faculty-administration relations, but also, because of the formation of subordinate administrative bargaining units, a deterioration of relations among administrators. Institutional governance mechanisms are becoming major casualties as bargaining agreements transfer to new loci; and to more politically power charged ones, the faculty devisers of governance. Of most concern, unionism may be recasting vital parts of higher education into a value framework inconsistent—no, more than inconsistent—alien and detrimental to its vital organs.

Growth of Unionism

Faculty unionism entered higher education at the Henry Ford Community College in 1966. Formal contractual agreements were reached at

the Bryant College of Business Administration in mid-1967, followed by the United States Merchant Marine Academy in early 1968. Shortly thereafter in 1969 a contractual arrangement was ratified at the City University of New York. At that point in time collective bargaining in higher education turned the corner.

By mid-1970 twenty-six colleges and universities had established contracts with their faculties. As of August of 1973, there were 184 contracts either negotiated or being negotiated covering 284 institutions with 71,984 faculty. A number of other institutions are in the formative stages of unionizing.[1] It is difficult to locate or recall another change in higher education that has become as pervasive so rapidly.

Irreversibility of Unionism

One plays in the field of hopeful guesses to believe that faculty unionism will dissolve. The suggestion that faculties in institutions not yet touched by bargaining will turn away from the union movement is unwarranted. True, the faculties of five colleges or universities have voted to reject collective bargaining. That figure, however, represents a small percentage of all institutions in which faculties have negotiated, renegotiated or remained under an existing agreement. Given the traditional faculty rejection of the values attributed to blue collar unionism, as opposed to "professional" values, this is a very low rejection rate. It should be noted that the rejection votes were not of a magnitude to have caused faculty union advocates in those institutions to lay aside their unionizing activities.

Nor are faculties likely to reject unions once they have been established. In one time span the National Labor Relations Board conducted more than 7,300 representation elections. In less than three-tenths of one percent of the elections did the employees cast away their bargaining unit.[2] None of the organizations displacing unions were private higher education ones. There is no evidence to warrant the assumption that, once a faculty union has been obtained, any serious faculty effort will be made to displace it.[3] It seems fairly clear that college administrators must anticipate the spread and permanence of faculty unionism.

Important issues lie in the emerging form and operational changes that unionism is visiting on the institutional structure, and the subsequent discounting of other mechanisms of governance. The configuration that unionism takes as it displaces traditional governance devices will have far reaching consequences for higher education.

Unionism and Traditional Faculty Governance

The literature is in disarray over the extent to which faculty senates and committees help, hinder, or are incidental to institutional development and governance. In the last few years, however, there is a growing negative imbalance. Faculty members, both individually and collectively in the senate governance sense, are more frequently viewed as weak.

Remembering that the context of her remarks is the faculty strike at

San Francisco State College, Cavan captures a spreading faculty feeling when traditional governance mechanisms fail. She noted, after looking back on the strike, a sad faculty realization:

> Irrespective of the privilege and honor associated with his status, the administration which employed him determined and delimited his power. . . He had no voice whatever in the decisions on policy and practice which affected the campus as a whole. . . Only after policy questions have been raised does the college professor discover how feeble is his power in the institution. . . The recommendations of the faculty, as a privileged status group, may be taken into consideration when policy decisions are made, but they are in no way binding on their institutionally more powerful superiors.[4]

Historically there had developed an administrative structure paralleled by a faculty governance structure, the latter to preserve faculty control over central institutional values. In times of tranquility the faculty impact, on the broad scale, has diminished in terms of protecting those values. It now appears that in times of crises such as those caused by unionism, faculty governance is unable to respond meaningfully.

What of higher education unionism and faculty governance mechanisms? It has become more apparent that faculty bargaining units are exercising their potential to exceed academic senates in real power. Their source of power, beyond that accumulated by collective action itself, lies in the doctrine of exclusive representation and the standard contract provision that, where they intersect, the legal terms of the agreement shall prevail against Board policies and practices. In effect, with the courts generally ruling for an expansion of areas that may be bargained, an increasing number of the traditional functions and prerogatives of senates fall within the purview of the faculty bargaining unit. As traditional devices cannot be used effectively to obtain faculty demands and interests, senates will tend to drift toward a state of irrelevance.

The power transition, to whatever extent it will occur, will not be without resistance. Not all faculties fall at the same point on a power-powerless continuation. The fundamental institutional notion of self-governance will not die all that easily. Where faculty power has been considerable, unionism will prevail less easily than where administrative control has exceeded that of the faculty by a substantial margin. Still, as Duryea and Fisk conclude from their analysis of unionism and governance:

> Collective bargaining. . .presents. . .an alternative mode to established forms of academic governance associated with senates and committees. It can and very likely will strongly challenge the collegial nature of 'shared authority' which has been the primary rationale for faculty participation in college and university government.[5]

We can expect to see in higher education a greater consolidation of faculty power on the union model rather than the senate model.[6] The former, with its attendant labor oriented value base differing considerably from the senate model, likely will achieve three outcomes of unionism in the private sector, a fairly well developed and powerful union structure, crucial changes in managerial role performance, and a redirection of managerial policy development and operational modes.

Centralizing Bargaining Under State Government

A development significant in higher education was the centralization of authority under the aegis of some form of state coordinating agency. A portion of the college administrator's decision making authority was drawn within this new and higher position on the overall vertical power alignment. This has concluded in a presidential movement in the direction of middle management, and has been given further impetus by centralized state bargaining, a development of extreme importance to higher education.

In its initial stage faculty unionism was limited to individual institutions.[7] In the general spread of unionism, entire systems fell under a single contract negotiated between the Board and a faculty unit bargaining for the system components collectively.[8] One step beyond faculty-Board system bargaining is *system bargaining under state government.* This is the case, for example, for the state colleges in Pennsylvania under Public Law 195. Under state executive branch bargaining, the chief executive of the state has the authority to designate from among his subordinates (but not limited to them) a team to bargain for the several college administrations with the faculty bargaining unit. Although this development is new, four immediate concerns are emerging.

(1) *Economics and values.* As a bargaining agent for college administrations, the executive branch of government proceeds from a set of values and perspectives different from those when the college administration interfaces with the faculty. Executive branch bargaining agents do not view colleges, their mission and internal value system, through the same prisms as do faculty and administrators, who, despite their positional variations, are permeated with the nature of the institution simply from having existed with it, if for no other reasons.

In these times of financial difficulty, the executive branch, when supported by a legislature under the duress of too few dollars and too many demands, has the opportunity to express its value choices by "trimming the fat" from the colleges. This they now may do in direct ways otherwise not available to them when the bargaining mechanism lay beyond their reach. Now they can bargain point by point and exact policy and practice conditions to which the administration must adhere. The financial trimming, however, is more than a judicious caution with scarce resources. The cutting now under way is in amounts, and importantly, on a value basis increasingly hostile to the preservation of faculty and programs inherently necessary for a college to serve its responsibility to society.

Those who bargain for management, in trimming beyond that which is prudent and in allocating in ways the consequence of which they do not perceive, tamper with the very core of institutions they only dimly understand.

(2) *Retrenchment.* Based on enabling legislation and subsequent contract statements, it now seems assured that the executive branch of government, through its centralized bargaining authority, is in a powerful position to determine conditions that point toward program retrenchment, both generally and categorically. Not only do they negotiate financial and program conditions expressed in the contract. They recommend levels of educational funding to legislatures now far more skeptical of higher education and more receptive to governmental control than has been the case before. Stemming from this arrangement is a state government bargaining unit with increased capacity and willingness to establish educational priorities for the several campuses.

It can be argued, of course, that during the recent years of relative financial plenty colleges expanded in ways both wise and unwise. Where the growth was largely for its own sake, cuts may be justified. The real issue with cuts leading to program retrenchment and faculty loss is in the power base from which the cuts occur, a state governmental unit subject to the political pressures of public opinion plus party, legislative and judicial politics.

What we are beginning to witness is a state executive device with the capacity to bargain specific policy and operational conditions of college administrations, according to state program choice. This is a potentially dangerous state of affairs, for the priorities leading to retrenchment, created in the political arena, may express both political goals and state control alien to higher education.

(3) *Grievance procedures and politics.* In effect, although not literally, the faculty bargaining unit may by-pass the administration. While it is a procedural step to present a grievance to the President, in the event of an unfavorable decision from him the faculty unit may appeal its case beyond his office. Of course it is true that a number of contracts call for binding arbitration in the event of an unfavorable management decision. The emerging grievance procedure located as it is in executive governments is far more important, however, than the currently existing loci for grievance resolutions; namely, college administrations.

In those systems in which the executive branch bargains for management, the faculty unit may appeal a presidential decision to a state executive office. Earlier decisions in the grievance process are being upheld or overridden by a unit of the executive branch. That unit is to a large degree, administratively and politically under the control of the chief executive. In the event the grievance outcomes at the executive branch levels are unfavorable, the union may carry the grievance to impartial binding arbitration. This may ameliorate to some extent the long governmental process in the grievance procedure.

Both faculty and management should have extensive reservations over this arrangement, however. The faculty should be distressed because they will have to fight their way past judgments rendered by the side with whom they negotiated the original contract: not the same persons who sat at the table, but executive government nonetheless. College management should be disturbed as well. While on the surface it may appear as if such an arrangement favors the presidential position, the decisions are not being made in the relatively limited academic arena. The decisions occur in the highly charged political arena of public administration, legislation and accountability.

Considering the trend toward more stringent funding, with program retrenchment a growing reality, controlling decisions made in the executive branch are too likely to favor the more expedient executive value-political base of power politics. These are not conditions well-calculated to inspire administrator or faculty confidence. It appears as if executive branch control far exceeds in peril whatever problems might arise from the more general institutional or system bargaining. The latter two, at least, place at the interchange of negotiations the parties who must execute the contract conditions they devise.

(4) *Limited inputs.* There is a substantial reduction in the control each college head has over the items to be bargained, the response to faculty unit proposals, and the generation of the management stances on the issues. The college presidents as a group may be represented by one or more of their number on the executive bargaining team. This still leaves the remaining system heads excluded from direct bargaining access.

The problem of spatial isolation among the presidents and between them and the bargaining process, with the attendant loss of input control, is compounded by the nature of the bargaining process itself. There is the tendency for bargaining activity to increase in frequency during the latter stages of negotiations. There is the tendency for bargaining to become more cryptic. One of the common procedural agreements is to limit external communications during much of negotiations. These factors in combination serve to augment the problem of spatial separation, effectively reducing presidential inputs to influence the course and content of the agreement.

The factors of economics and values, retrenchment, grievance procedures and limited inputs spell out a new and uncertain but potentially damaging set of circumstances. The college president is being reduced to a position much nearer that of middle management. He has substantially reduced areas of administrative discretion as determined by contractual statement, the determination over which he had little control.

In the longer run, centralized state bargaining raises again the issue of state control over higher education. How much state control can be tolerated before the baseline values upon which higher education rests are irrevocably eroded away?

Master-Local Contracts

As unionism spread and developed in the private sector, the bargaining model was transformed accordingly. Earlier forms suitable under then existing conditions evolved into more complex forms as conditions giving rise to them changed. The forms became more complex as organizations increased in size and complexity. They continued evolving as plants became geographically decentralized. National industry contracts again extended evolutionary process. In general, the master contract content affecting all the industry units is bargained centrally at the national level. Local issues, which tend to differ considerably among the several units, are bargained by local management and labor.

The master-local contract concept just entering higher education, like its bargaining model predecessors, patterned after the labor model. A higher education system may be composed of several institutions governed by a central Board. There are specific areas of commonality among the institutions: medical benefits, leave benefits, insurance benefits, governance items and so forth. Those items may be bargained for the entire system by the faculty unit representing all the system units. There is sufficient variation among the several system institutions so that a settlement of many content areas, while compatible with some units needs, would be inappropriate to other units. Many working conditions fall into this proposition. In these cases the variations are bargained locally.

The result is the master-local contract concept in higher education. The master contract cannot readily account for local institutional variations. Local contract bargaining can do so more effectively and completely. Given the reality of system bargaining, no other alternative has been developed to deal with local variation needs within the master concept.

This centralized-decentralized bargaining form restores, on the one hand, areas of presidential bargaining power over the conditions on the campus. At all times he has direct access to the local bargaining process and thus more strongly influences campus policy and operational conditions. In the second instance the faculty bargaining unit has obtained one additional opportunity to make demands of the administration. What they gain locally is in addition to the system gains obtained earlier.

The problem for the administration is one of relative importance. What is lost due to any reductions over control of the master contract is less than fully compensated for through direct local faculty-administration bargaining. As with centralized state government bargaining for college administrations, master-local bargaining, although less distantly removed from individual presidents, nevertheless concludes in a net loss. The developing middle management position of the president is sustained.

Among the dangers forecast for the master-local concept is its potential scope. The parameters could be state-wide, lumping together all the governing boards regardless of different levels of institutions. Where

several boards govern several institutions in the state, they could be treated as a single entity for master contrast bargaining purposes. It could be regional or even national in scope. Lest we are inclined to discount the possibility too lightly, let us remember how few persons in the academic world would have forecast a decade ago the extent to which higher education has become involved with a governance form then considered totally alien to institutional values. We have only to remember, too, the current governmental drive toward regionalization in education. Circumscribed within prevailing and quasi-predictable conditions, bargaining in higher education beyond the current types is not to be casually dismissed.

General Contract Content

When we extract the substance from the pool of contracts current in higher education, there are in excess of 315 different areas that have been negotiated.[9] This pool is reducible to eight general topics: contract management, governance, academic, economic benefits, insurance benefits, leave benefits, working conditions and general contract items. In a different conceptual light, we may view the items under the general category of power equalization and its subsidiary concept, protectionism.

Power equalization. The drive for countervailing power is a direct response by those subject to the power of monopolistic conditions. Although we will use the concept in a setting different from the economic marketplace, John Kenneth Galbraith cast the basic notion in the following way.

> To begin with a broad and somewhat too dogmatically stated proposition, private economic power is held in check by the countervailing power of those who are subject to it. The first begets the second. The long trend toward concentration of industrial enterprises in the hands of a relatively few firms has brought into existence not only strong sellers, as economists have supposed, but also strong buyers as they have failed to see. The two develop together, not in precise step but in such a manner that there can be no doubt that the one is in response to the other.[10]

Faculties long have had a power position inferior to that of the administration. The traditional governance mechanisms based on the notion of shared authority did not in reality provide a power equalizing situation. As Cavan pointed out, the sharing was more an illusion controlled by the administration.

There has been a well documented shift in institutional conditions over the past two years. Fewer faculty positions are available, with the trend to continue for a number of years. A study of faculty needs and supply by Balderston and Radner shows a decline of considerable magnitude in the demand for new Ph.D.'s.[11] On the observational level, and except for a comparatively few areas, the job market is very tight. A long term trend toward reduced enrollment rates and eventually absolute

numbers, tighter financing and similar conditions have been projected. Salaries are not increasing as they had in the recent past.

Retrenchment is becoming not only a spectre but a fact of life. During the past eighteen months a number of reports have surfaced detailing faculty and program cutbacks. It has reached the point that retrenchment clauses are entering collective bargaining contracts.[12] Generally speaking, the clauses spell out the criteria for selecting who shall be let go, the duration a reduced or eliminated program must remain that way, and, given better economic conditions, the criteria for returning faculty.

Other factors could be set out, but suffice it now to indicate that the prevailing conditions in higher education appear to cause faculty to become more local and survival oriented and to display a greater concern for their immediate institutional conditions. The realization is growing that where one *is* is likely to be where one will be. Recently there has been no real competitive institutional search for faculty. The power over employment conditions had been rising for the administration. They had become more powerful in setting salaries, increasing workload and the like. Given the overproduction of Ph.D.'s in many academic areas, the decline in the number of faculty openings, and the general financial difficulties encasing institutions, an administrative monopolistic condition has been developing. Armed with collective bargaining, faculties are attempting to obtain a tool to equalize the power of the administration. Collective action is far more powerful than individual action and, with recourse to the strike, the power tool is available to enforce collective judgment.[13]

National bargaining agents, such as the National Education Association, the American Federation of Labor, and now even the American Association of University Professors, are actively unionizing campuses. Much of their literature prior to organization elections plays upon the economic, control and security concerns of faculty members. "To get and to hold" is a stronger argument for faculty involvement in unionism than are lofty professional ethics to a relatively weak shared authority position. It has been demonstrated by nearly 200 contracts that the drive to achieve countervailing power for unionized faculties can obtain ends unattainable through shared authority. The gains may not be without long term losses, as I believe they must be, but in the euphoria of the gains the faculties are quite satisfied with the results of the power equalization movement.

Power equalization with the institutional administration is one thing; with state government it may prove to be another. According to the Galbraith statement above, I would judge that the faculties should acquire sufficient power to equalize the executive branch bargaining unit power. That test is yet to occur.

We might wish to assert, then, that the stipulations in faculty-administration agreements are the results and the terms of a power equalization process. And further, having gained some of the means to

balance power with power, faculty are unlikely to surrender what they have won.

Protectionism. Contracts exist to predict future states of affairs and to govern the relations and conditions of the parties on an immediate basis. It is held that management and faculty more effectively determine the course of institutional affairs when they are aware of the reciprocal nature of their roles as those affairs unfold. To aid in long-term control of planning, programs, and similar matters, management opts for the long term contract. Faculty choose the short term contract in order to increase their positions under changing circumstances. The compromise is a short multiple year contract in which certain articles, but only those articles, are subject to annual renegotiation.

The future states of affairs faculties seek to control, in the concept of countervailing power, become more extensive each year. Management, on the other hand, in its response to the initiative of faculty bargaining, has increased not only the firmness of its responses to faculty wants, but now initiates an increasing number of its own demands. Among those demands is one considered an anathema to faculty bargaining units: the right to renegotiate on terms more favorable to management contract gains previously won by faculty. Since the faculty unit has a history of reopening articles to increase its own scope, management seeks the *quid pro quo.*

What we are seeing in higher education is the notion of territorial imperatives. Management and faculty identify areas in which they have a stake, then attempt through negotiations to obtain a contract statement to protect that want. This is no different from the intent and process of blue collar unionism: only what is at stake differs.

We have identified in the pool of higher education contracts 29 items concerning contract management, 83 governance items, 54 academic items, 23 economic benefits, 18 types of insurance benefits, 30 types of leaves, 27 general working conditions areas and 39 areas we label "General".[4] Each area represents a territory that in some way is valued by one or both sides of the bargaining table. They are areas of potential confrontation in which, generally speaking, faculty want more and management wants to give less. In effect, collective bargaining helps both sides to carve out and bind by contractual duration, with the power of legal enforcement, an increasing number of domains to be protected and expanded. Through the present time the faculty has been more successful in stating and protecting domains than has been the administration.

As we have seen, once begun, collective bargaining is an irreversible process. In its short history in higher education, each succeeding year finds more institutions with collective bargaining contracts. With each year the list of contract items, which we may call domains, increases (about 30% from 1972 to 1973). In the course of time so much of the warp and woof of higher education may be come so stylized that its reduced mobility in the face of change requirements may severely hamper the institutional ability to adjust.

Faculties have initiated unionism in higher education as a device to obtain conditions unavailable to them through traditional governance mechanisms and to alleviate what is to them the adversities in the administrative power structure. At one level of generality the redistribution of active authority in domains beyond the ken of top level administration into the three branches of government likely will contribute to the reshaping of American higher education.

Faculty unionism politicizes the professoriate along issue lines only remotely consonant with values underlying institutional existence. It will become altogether too clear that the content of bargained contracts resolves not to the elevation of or even the protection of teaching, research, and service; rather, the resolution will be to the protection of self-interests not even tenuously related to institutional goals. Should this become an organizational steady state, as it appears it will, conflicts must inevitably arise within the system, and in its boundary transactions. These will act as a depressant on the internal institutional conditions conducive to the freedoms faculty must maintain and exercise in order to fulfill their professional and societal obligations.

In a different vein, militant faculty unionism may compel Boards of Trustees, now edging toward a kind of counter activism, to accelerate that movement. Perhaps public education, in so many ways the precursor of developments in higher education, may be instructive. Boards of Education may not operationalize any policies inconsistent with the terms of the agreement negotiated with the faculty. They are becoming much more active in administering not only the terms of the agreements, but also the zones of control reserved beyond the agreement. School superintendents are being by-passed simply because the power of the teacher bargaining unit is directed at the power of the Board of Education: power is directed at power and power is responding to power. In their response to faculty power, Boards are withdrawing some of the control of functions they had previously delegated to their administrators.

The same sequence of events well may transpire in higher education. The basic phenomenon is conceptually similar enough to warrant the belief that the role of the president will be refined by the power vs. power contest in the real centers where that power resides—teacher units and Boards. Beyond whatever decrement of administrative subordination this may bring, that problem will be compounded by the fact that Boards of Trustees generally are political appointees. Indirectly, then, the power shift will drift more and more into the external political arena. This is of paramount importance. For the restructuring of higher education along increasingly political lines will vastly fuel the probability of a kind of institutional-governmental socialism destructive of academic freedom and thus of institutional freedom.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Harold I. Goodwin and John O. Andes, *Collective Bargaining in Higher Education: Contract Content—1972* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Publications, 1972).

[2]*Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the National Labor Relations Board*, pp. 178-181.

[3]We maintain annual correspondence with every college and university that has concluded a contract, is negotiating a contract or is even reported to have had a representation election. In the very small number of non-returns to our written requests for contracts (2-3 percent), institutional presidents are called for a verbal report. We are aided in this search by the generous help of the AAUP, NEA and AFT.

[4]Sherri Cavan, "Aristocratic Workers", in Arlene Daniels (Ed), *Academics on the Line* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1970), pp. 179-180.

[5]E. D. Duryea and Robert S. Fisk, "Impact of Unionism on Governance", in Dyckman W. Vermilye (Ed.), *The Expanded Campus* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1973), pp. 105-106.

[6]We should point out that teacher-faculty organizations long have resisted the union model for faculty-administration interfacing to achieve objectives. The National Education Association shifted grounds only after it became apparent to the leadership that the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) was winning the representation elections and the memberships. Similarly, the American Association of University Professors has shifted ground, despite its official position on unionism and shared authority. The number of AAUP-negotiated contracts increased more than 150 percent from July of 1972 to July of 1973. While early AAUP contracts differed considerably from AFT and NEA ones, the differences have closed considerably over the past year.

[7]See Robert Carr and Daniel VanEyck, *Collective Bargaining Comes to the Campus* for a fine account of the introduction of collective bargaining to higher education.

[8]A system contract is defined as one covering all the individual institutions operating under a single governing board.

[9]Goodwin and Andes, *op cit.*

[10]John Kenneth Galbraith, *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, Sentry Edition, 1956), pp. 8-9.

[11]F. E. Balderston and Roy Radner, *Academic Demand for New Ph.D's in 1970-1980: Its Sensitivity to Alternative Policies* (Berkeley: University of California, Ford Grant #680-0267A, 1971).

[12]Goodwin and Andes, *op cit.*

[13]The trend is to try to avoid strikes through binding arbitration. A fairly strong case can be made to justify the belief that arbitration results favor the faculty. Faculties seek more, and the "more" results in a loss for the administration. In this sense arbitration serves the purpose of the strike, although perhaps less well.

[14]Goodwin and Andes, *op cit.*

VICTOR G. ROSENBLUM

Changes in Faculty Status and Responsibility: The Impact of Recent Court Decisions

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Recent court decisions bearing on the academic world have mooted (though not muted) the debate over whether judicial scrutiny of the campus would be harmful or beneficial. The debate over desirability goes on; but the legal reality is that "benign neglect" of the campus by the judiciary has ended irrevocably. Assumptions or hopes that the Burger Court might restore a judicial "hands off" policy have proven entirely unwarranted. Instead, broader utilization of the free speech and due process components of the Fourteenth Amandment's umbrella of protection have had significant impact on the status and responsibilities of faculty members.

This is not, of course, to say that all or any legal challenges are likely to be successful. The central point is not that litigiousness results in victory for the claimant, but that legal actions are now customarily accepted by, and must be argued seriously before the courts. Campus disputes are no longer the exclusive province of college or university officials who previously could proclaim, a la the late President Truman, that "the buck stops here." From standpoints of finance, emotions, time, and energy, the costs of litigation are invariably heavy on all sides and the substantive results are rarely wholly satisfactory to anyone. Nonetheless, since today's courts are more receptive than ever to challenges to campus procedures and policies, schools without ready and continuing access to

legal counsel are prone to flounder or blunder when academic problems acquire legal dimensions.

Recent Decisions and Implications

The most appropriate cases with which to begin analysis of current judicial impact on the faculty are the *Roth* and *Sindermann* cases decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1972. Among other reasons for their primacy was the rejection by Justice Stewart, who wrote the opinions, of the traditional right-privilege dichotomy that had impaired redress for abuses against public employees. The early view that employment was a privilege, and that employees had no rights in the absence of formal contractual provisions specifically conferring them, had made academic employees dependent wholly upon the munificence and beneficence of administrators until the Supreme Court began to veer from this restrictive view in the 1950's. Not until the *Roth* decision, however, did the justices place a tombstone over the grave of the doctine that employment was a privilege rather than a right. A major consequence of formal abandonment of the distinction was the energizing of actions in behalf of faculty members' protectable interests in property and liberty.

Roth and Sindermann were non-tenured faculty members who sought redress in the courts when they were not reappointed. Both had been denied hearings by campus officials in explanation of their non-reappointment. Roth had been named to an assistant professorship of political science at Wisconsin State University in Oshkosh for one year in 1968. In accordance with the school's rules, the President informed him before February 1, 1969 that he would not be rehired for the following academic year. No reasons were given for the decision and no opportunity was given to challenge it. Sindermann had become an untenured professor of political and social science at Odessa Junior College in Texas in 1965. Employed under a series of one-year contracts for four successive years, he was notified in the course of the 1968-69 academic year that he would not be given a new contract for the following year.

There was a major difference in the facts between the Roth and Sindermann situations. The former had taught only one year at the school and no reasons at all were offered in explanation of the refusal to renew at all were offered in explanation of the refusal to renew his contract. The latter had taught at his institution for four years, and the Board of Regents issued a press release at the time of nonrenewal alleging that Sindermann had defied administrative authorities by attending committee meetings of the state legislature after school officials had explicitly refused to permit him to leave his classes to attend such sessions in his capacity as president of the Texas Junior College Teachers Association.

Roth lost in the Supreme Court; Sindermann won. As author of the opinion in the two cases, Justice Stewart focused in *Roth* on the legal arguments that excluded the professor's case from constitutional protection, while in *Sindermann*, he dwelt on the factors warranting inclusion of

non-tenured teachers within protected constitutional boundaries. The test stressed in both cases was of "the nature of the interest at stake." With reference to Roth, Stewart concluded that one cannot claim deprivation of liberty or property when he simply is not re-hired in one job and remains as free as before to seek another. No charges had been made against Roth nor any regulation invoked that might bar him from other academic employment. Roth was found to have had only "an abstract concern" in reappointment rather than a legitimate claim. In *Sindermann* on the other hand, there was a genuine dispute as to whether Sindermann's contract was not renewed because of his exercise of free speech. Furthermore, given Sindermann's four previous years of teaching at the school and rehiring practices customarily followed by its officials—possibly tantamount to a *de facto* tenure program—Sindermann was entitled to a formal opportunity to prove the legitimacy of his claim.

It is clear, in short, that the judicial system is available to protect faculty members in state supported institutions, whether or not they have tenure, if their employment status has been altered in derogation of their constitutional interests in liberty or property. On the other hand, faculty members without substantial evidence to back up allegations that non-reappointment was punishment for assertion of their constitutional rights are likely to fare as badly as Roth. Several lower court decisions since the Supreme Court's rulings in 1972 attest to the continuing vitality of the new rule.

The Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit rules in *Clark v. Holmes* late in 1972, for example, that a nontenured state college teacher does not have the right to disregard the judgment of superiors about the proper content of a health course assigned to him. There was no deprivation of due process or of the instructor's First Amendment rights when he was denied reappointment without a hearing or statement of reasons under such circumstances. The U.S. Supreme Court declines to review the case.

At the other end of the decisional spectrum, the policy of the regents of the University of California that prohibited members of the Communist Party from serving on the faculty by reason of their alleged lack of academic integrity and opposition to academic freedom was declared unconstitutional by the California courts in *Regents v. Karst*. The state's effort to have the U.S. Supreme Court review whether Communists can be excluded was rejected at the beginning of the October 1972 term.

In an application of the Roth and Sindermann criteria to a college president, the same U.S. Court of Appeals that decided against the faculty member who altered the health course curriculum ruled in *Junior College District Board v. Hostrop* that the circulation of a memorandum by the president that could disrupt his working relationship with his board was within the First Amendment's protection of free speech. Since protected interests were involved, the president must be accorded procedural due process. Thus, before he could be discharged, the president was entitled to notice of charges against him, as well as a hearing

before an impartial tribunal at which he could confront evidence and present witnesses. The Supreme Court again denied certiorari.

The palpable message of these recent court decisions is that overt prejudice, whimsy or fiat on the part of administrators in dealing with faculty, or even on the part of trustees in dealing with presidents, is no longer considered a purely internal matter that lies beyond the pale of judicial scrutiny. Reluctant as judges may be to intrude upon campus mores and idiosyncracies, they will do so to protect demonstrated interests in liberty or property that are jeopardized by official acts. As a result, accountability is heightened and an enforceable aura of academic freedom established for the nontenured faculty member vis-a-vis the administration, paralleling in basic respects the hard-won contractual rights of tenured faculty.

Related Decisions and Their Implications

A less direct but no less significant assist to faculty members sidetracked by preoccupation with *in loco parentis* dimensions of campus life has been rendered by the Supreme Court in three recent cases according students constitutional protection for their rights of association, speech and residential mobility. *Healy v. James* in 1972 and *Papish v. University of Missouri* and *Vlandis v. Kline* in 1973 attest to the demise of "we know what's best for them" as sufficient justification for administrative edicts or bias.

The Healy case was particularly significant because a unanimous Supreme Court reversed decisions of the lower federal courts to rule that the standard of burden of proof applies no differently to university relationships than to any other realm of law. If the university wished to ban a chapter of Students for a Democratic Society from its campus, it could only do so by presenting evidence that the members of the proposed chapter would refuse or otherwise fail to comply with proper university regulations. The university could not assume or imply such misbehavior from previous conduct of SDS chapters elsewhere; and it emphatically could not shift the burden of proof to the organizers of the new chapter to show that they would comply with the school's rules. Justice Powell's remarks about the academic community and the First Amendment are especially worthy of note:

> As the case involves delicate issues concerning the academic community, we approach our task with special caution, recognizing the mutual interest of students, faculty members and administrators in an environment free from disruptive interference with the educational process. We are also mindful of the equally significant interest in the widest latitude for free expression and debate consonant with the maintenance of order. Where these interests appear to compete, the First Amendment, made binding on the states by the Fourteenth Amendment, strikes the required balance.

The court described the college classroom as "peculiarly the marketplace of ideas" and had no hesitation "in reaffirming this nation's dedication to safeguarding academic freedom."

The Papish case concerned the expulsion of a graduate student at the University of Missouri for distributing on campus a newspaper "containing forms of indecent speech" in violation of the school's by-laws. The particular issue of the *Free Press Underground* had reprinted a political cartoon from another paper depicting policemen raping the Statue of Liberty and also contained an article discusing in salty language the trial and acquittal on an assult charge of a youth who was a member of an organization known as "Up Against the Wall, M----f-----." The by-law Miss Papish was found to have violated stated that students assume an obligation to conduct themselves in a manner compatible with the University's functions and missions as an educational institution. Explicit examples of conduct that would contravene the obligation were "indecent conduct or speech." Following a hearing before the University's Student Conduct Committee, Miss Papish was ordered dismissed from the University. She exhausted her administrative review procedures within the institution, and the dismissal order was affirmed. The Federal District Court and U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit sustained the University's decisions. The Supreme Court reversed it by a 6-3 vote.

Invoking the Sindermann and Healy cases, the majority proclaimed that "the mere dissemination of ideas—no matter how offensive to good taste—on a state university campus may not be shut off in the name alone of "conventions of decency." The University was ordered to reinstate the student in the absence of valid academic reasons for exclusion. Justices Burger, Blackmun and Rehnquist dissented, contending that since the state university, as an establishment for the purpose of educating the state's young people, is supported by tax revenues from the state's citizens, the "notion that the officials lawfully charged with the governance of the university have so little control over the environment for which they are responsible that they may not prevent the public distribution of a newspaper on campus which contained the language described in the Court's opinion is quite unacceptable." The dissenters also warned that if the system of tax supported public universities is to thrive, they must have something more than grudging support from taxpayers and legislators. Those who finance the system must be able to exercise "a modicum of control" over it lest their disenchantment "reach such a point that they doubt the game is worth the candle." The bitter critique by the minority of the majority's conclusion notwithstanding, the rule of the case stresses that no state college or university can any longer claim any form of immunity from the sweep of the First Amendment.

Constitutional Rights

In the Vlandis case, decided in June 1973, the Supreme Court in-

validated, as a violation of the due process clause, a state s establishment of a permanent and irrebuttable presumption of nonresidence for students whose legal address was outside the state at the time of application for admission. In his opinion for the majority in this 6-3 case, Justice Stewart noted that "statutes creating permanent irrebuttable presumptions have long been disfavored under the Due Process Clause of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments." While not objecting to Connecticut's goal to equalize the cost of public higher education between residents and nonresidents of the state, Stewart pointed out that Connecticut's conclusive presumption of nonresidence, "instead of ensuring that only its bona fide residents receive their full subsidy, ensures that certain of its bona fide residents, such as the appellees, do *not* receive their full subsidy and can never do so while they remain students." Justices Rehnquist, Burger and Douglas dissented, criticizing the invalidation of Connecticut's presumption of nonresidency as "inconsistent with doctrines of substantive due process that have obtained in this Court for at least a decade." Furthermore, they felt the state's tuition policy should not be subjected to strict constitutional scrutiny since a constitutional interest "truly worthy of the standard" was not involved.

Conclusive presumptions about residence, discharging students over vile language, and shifting the burden of proof to proponents of campus recognition instead of requiring opponents to bear it have a common theme of arbitrariness in campus affairs that the courts will no longer approve or ignore. In recognizing the propriety, if not the indispensability, of due process and First Amendment rights on campus, the courts have strengthened faculty incentives to focus on their teaching, research, and curriculum development. Creative energies need not be dissipated in prolonged internal battles over nonacademic policy issues when courts stand aready to enjoin arbitrary actions.

The changes in judicial readiness to intervene in campus disputes when constitutional rights are involved have been limited to instances in which state action is present. Purely private activities are not subject formally to prohibition on constitutional gounds e en when overtly violative of free speech or due process. Despite aruments by prominent members of the academic community that the functions of private higher education are essentially "public" and, consequently, that constitutional standards of propriety should be applied to them, the judicial fact remains that relationships between the state and any private institution must be extensive and pervasive before the courts will view the private institution's actions as tantamount to those of the state for purposes of applying constitutional limitations. Cases involving Columbia University, Alfred University, and Brooklyn Law School have re-affirmed the legal dichotomy between public and private schools. The last of these, decided in 1973 by the same U.S. Court of Appeals that disposed of the Alfred case, reiterated the judges' reluctance to bend formal legal distinctions between state and private action before the winds of economic subsidy. At the same time, the court recognized the complexity of the

problem and the judges' perplexity in coping with it.

A Federal District Court judge who had formerly been a Columbia Law School professor ruled in *Grossner v. Trustees of Columbia University* that the receipt of money from the state does not make the recipient a state agency or instrumentality, unless there is also significant state participation or involvement in the control or direction of the school's activities. In the Alfred University case, *Powe v. Miles*, the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit distinguished between a school of the University operated pursuant to contract with the state (which was deemed subject to state action limitations under the constitution) and the University's "private sector" in which state aid was not "so dominant" as to warrant the conclusion "that the state is merely utilizing private trustees to administer a state activity."

The basic question in *Grafton v. Brooklyn Law School* was whether the presence of more substantial state aid than in *Powe v. Miles*, along with regulations established by the New York Court of Appeals governing the curriculum necessary to qualify a student to take the state bar examination, reached the judiciary's criteria for equating the institution's actions with state action. Judge Friendly concluded that neither the grant of property by the state to assist the construction of a private educational facility nor the making of an outright financial grant that amounts to a fraction of the actual cost of granting a degree makes the school the agent of the state. The court appeared, nonetheless, to sanction a two-tiered approach to state action. While acknowledging that discrimination on the basis of race by a private school receiving the state assistance granted here might be constitutionally impermissible, Judge Friendly held that the same limited involvement of the state does not make the school's actions rise to the level of state action when they are alleged to affront other constitutional rights.

This judicial formulation of a new dichotomy between degrees of state involvement required to invalidate as state action discriminatory and deprivational acts of otherwise private schools is in no sense precise. In recognizing the problem and attempting a pragmatic solution, however, the court reminds us that the law perennially must differentiate among seemingly similar inequities of behavior and that judges have found and continue to find legal ways to restrain or invalidate actions, private as well as public, that outrage the human sense of justice.

Even while reaffirming the separation of public from private school constitutional accountability, the court in the Brooklyn Law School case implicitly cautions private school authorities to steer clear of arbitrary actions lest they compel judicial correctives. Thus, any private school officials who feel they can flaunt their traditional immunity from constitutional accountability by explicit incursions into rights protected against state action are likely to hasten expansion of the tier of the state action concept recognized as applicable to racially discriminatory practices by private institutions receiving state funds. At the same time, any private school faculty members who feel they can automatically receive

judicial protection equivalent to that available to state school staffs will impose unfair burdens on their resources and morale unless they are addicted to enlightenment through failure.

In short, although judicial scrutiny of campus affairs is now commonplace, it functions neither as paper tiger nor *deus ex machina*. It should be viewed by all who are part of campus life as the last, never the first, resort. Full utilization of internal remedies should always precede seeking court intervention, since they might obviate the necessity for court action and would, in any event, be required by most courts as a condition precedent to taking jurisdiction.

The Future of Faculty Rights and Responsibilities

What augurs for faculty status and responsibilities if courts continue to behave as depicted in the preceding pages? As suggested in the discussion of recent cases involving student rights, I expect one outcome to be less need for faculty involvement in *in loco parentis* and other non-teaching or non-curricular issues. In similar vein, the readiness of courts to redress grievances over nonrenewal or dismissal for the exercise of First or Fourteenth Amendment rights by state school personnel should produce greater incentive and opportunity for faculty members to attend to teaching, research, and curriculum matters. The greater the potentiality of judicial intervention to redress arbitrary actions, the less likely the commission of such actions and the more likely the priority allocation of faculty time and energy to the academic needs of the school. Courts have shown no interest in entering disputes over academic requirements or programs. Intra-faculty practices and relationships, as well as the contents and direction of curricula, stand out as predominant areas of faculty responsibility calling for equitable, expert attention by academicians committeed to careers of intellectual creativity.

Some prototypes of intra-faculty issues that must be resolved if basic responsibilities of faculties are to be met concern responsiveness to abuses of tenure and to problems of change in the age, sex, race and economic dimensions of teaching staffs.

In defense of tenure, I have argued in the past that if conspiracies of silence protect the once-distinguished faculty member who has become professionally incompetent because of alcoholism, family problems, encroaching senility or sheer indifference, that poses a problem for the integrity of internal governance of the institution rather than for the validity of the conception of tenure. What are the means for protecting the integrity of internal governance? The first step is to acknowledge that academic integrity is at stake in the way we construe tenure. Too often there are glaring anomalies between the meticulous standards we establish for granting tenure and the shoddy practices we tolerate on the part of some faculty members once they have achieved that exalted status.

The simple truth is that many faculties and administrations have confused the procedural protections accorded by tenure with irrevocable

substantive prohibitions on requiring continuing competence. In essence, they have at times transformed the tenure system into an academic puberty rite that, once performed, entitles its beneficiary to flout and disdain the criteria of excellence that warranted tenure in the first place. That the highest standards of performance should be required of persons aspiring to permanence but not of those who have achieved it would be considered unconscionable as an academic creed; it is even more outrageous, however, when, with silence and impunity, it becomes an accepted practice.

I am not advocating application of rigid, officious rules to anyone. The faculty member, regardless of rank or tenure, whose health fails or who experiences a traumatic or other temporarily debilitating episode should be able to count on understanding and support by colleagues. But the faculty member who chronically fails to show up for scheduled office hours or committee meetings or who inflicts on students unrevised lectures and syllabi year after year should not be entitled to invoke tenure as a form of "executive privilege" elevating him beyond accountability. Conscientiousness and professional competence of the tenured faculty member should be factors not only in annual salary reviews but in peer evaluations of whether minimal standards for retaining one's position are being met. Institutionalization of evaluation and review for tenured as well as non-tenured members of the academic community would in no sense denigrate the necessary protection of tenure rules, but it would prevent equation of tenure with the notion that "the king can do no wrong."

Another potential consequence of protecting the integrity of academic governance in this way would be the ability to confront more creatively and realistically the problems of compulsory retirement. We are all aware that some faculty members act as though they have retired long before they reach official retirement age. On the other hand, many professors retain their vigor and inspiration well into their seventies and eighties. The standard excuse given for uniform compulsory retirement is that there is no equitable way to differentiate between those professors who should continue actively to teach and those who should not. Regular evaluations of the work of tenured faculty would eliminate this excuse and provide a fair basis for determining which professors over the school's retirement age should be asked actively to continue their work.

It is dysfunctional for schools priding themselves on outstanding teaching and research to lose the unique skills of certain senior faculty members simply because they have reached a particular age. If any institution should be suspicious of purely quantitative devices for judgment, it is the university. Qualitative differentiations are essential to our daily operations, and we should insist no less on them in making post-retirement decisions than we do in awarding tenure.

I would propose the practices of the U.S. courts for emulation. The judges are not, of course, deprived of their right to retire on their pensions when they reach retirement age. Should they wish to continue serving, however, (and most do) the chief judge of the court on which they

sit will assign them to cases in accordance with their estimates of available time and the chief judge's estimate of their capacity to handle new assignments. In this manner, senior judges of the District Courts and Courts of Appeals have helped the federal judiciary to handle creditably a burgeoning caseload; and retired Supreme Court justices, such as Tom Clark and Stanley Reed, have presided over important lower court cases. It is time for the colleges and universities to cease penalizing themselves and their students by exiling because of age some of their most distinguished and respected professors.

In addition to facilitating creative utilization of professors' talents beyond formal retirement age, institutionalization of review and evaluation for tenured as well as untenured faculty would enable junior members to feel, and to be, more participative in decision making. Surveys of faculty attitudes having indicated generally that the junior faculty member is significantly more likely than the senior to feel that a small group of tenured professors has disproportionate power in decision making, it behooves us to put forth special efforts to solicit viewpoints, opinions and evaluations about all aspects of academic policy from junior colleagues.

Some recently appointed faculty members have observed privately that student protests of the late 60's led to advisory and consultative roles for students that leapfrogged over those previously performed by beginning faculty. In a few extreme instances, junior faculty have heard first about the fate of their employment from students rather than from deans or chairmen. Some junior faculty see themselves caught in a vise between powerful senior faculty who make the promotion and tenure decisions, and articulate, but not necessarily objective, students whose comments can make or break more readily than they can speed or build the careers of their instructors. Obviously, a certain amount of cavil without empirical foundation is to be expected everywhere, but this does not reduce or refute the obligation of administrators and senior faculty to be certain that the aspirations and opinions of junior colleagues receive equal opportunity with their own for expression and consideration.

Additional Factors

In referring earlier to the problems of change in age, sex, race and economic dimensions of faculties, I deliberately joined the four factors. Religion might have been included some years ago, but significant advances in religious heterogeneity of faculties have been achieved. The day is long since past when trustees of a private institution might deny appointment to a faculty member whose religion was other than that of the founders of the particular school on grounds that "we already have one of those on the faculty." The fact that such practices were far from unknown as late as the 1950's, however, should sensitize us to the possibility of other forms of prejudice beclouding our judgments in appointments and promotions today. Such a possibility becomes all the more real when budgets contract; for the acute shrinkage of funds, especially after a

sustained era of expansion and prosperity, is bound to trigger or revive jealousies and animosities rooted in the irrational.

Despite many sincere efforts at abandonment of restrictive racial and sexual hiring practices in the last several years, changes in the composition of faculties have been undramatic if not insignificant. A recent report by the American Council on Education indicates that, by comparison with the 1968-69 academic year, the proportion of black faculty members increased from 2.2 to 2.9% and the proportion of women from 19.1 to 20%. Concomitantly with the abandonment or destruction of restrictive barriers, fears have arisen—not always unjustified—that reverse discrimination against white males would follow the establishment by federal agencies of hiring guide lines designed to increase the proportion of minority groups and women among faculties. Some major private institutions, feeling threatened with cut-offs of government contracts and grants, succumbed to the transformation of government "guidelines" into quotas and proceeded to demonstrate their good intentions to federal overseers by raiding less prestigious two and four-year colleges which had broken race and sex barriers earlier. As one consequence, the proprtion of black and female faculty at the latter colleges decreased during the past three years while it increased slightly at the universities.

The problem of how to eliminate old prejudices from the nation's campuses without adopting new ones is as acute today as ever. Of some 53,000 respondents to the ACE questionnaire, slightly more than a third felt there should be preferential hiring for minority faculty at their institutions, presumably meaning that 2/3 are opposed in varying degree to any such preference. Interesting indicators of mobility and commitment among academic generations were the figures showing that the fathers of 42.7% of surveyed faculty members did not finish high school and that, although almost 70% felt respect for the academic profession has decreased over the last twenty years, only 13.5% stated that they would not choose academic careers if they had it to do over again.

The trouble with drawing the inference from these data that what the children of white non-graduates achieved can be repeated in the next generation by the children of blacks is that the vast expansion of job opportunities in higher education during the 1950's and 60's came to an abrupt and seemingly permanent end in the 70's. The competition for available faculty posts will be intense. Existing faculties have the responsibility and capacity to assure fairness and equity in this competition.

A *sine qua non* to equitable competition today is recognition that rarely, if ever, have we had it in the past. In addition to overt prejudices of trustees in the bygone era, some departmental faculties in prestige schools maintained their own barriers with the reluctant acquiescence of officials. When I was a graduate student in political science in the early 1950's, for example, a colleague was turned down for an appointment at a major private university on the coast because (he was subsequently told this by the chairman of the department) his listing of his first name as Al

M. instead of A. Matthew had "confused" some of the members of the department into believing him a Jew. Most of us in academia can recall department meetings in which the question of whether we "were ready for" a female colleague was the prime item on the agenda.

Even without overt or covert bias the system for selection of faculty was not in any real sense competitive. Known by various names as the "old boy" or "duenna" or "patron" system, the fact remained that it frowned on open competition. Even though professional associations maintained job listing services for their members, most departments regarded them as last resorts for recruitment purposes. Respected friends or mentors at the X or Y University were usually asked to suggest names of their students, and jobs were filled with no systematic canvassing of others who might be as talented or more so. After all, trust and regard for the "old boy" had produced congenial and able colleagues in the past. Restrictiveness was, if not fashionable, deemed a small price to pay for avoiding transformation of the hiring process into an "Arabian bazaar."

The merit system for selection of personnel has no deep roots in academia. We have the opportunity to establish those roots now, and this calls for reevaluation rather than meretricious reverence for what we have done before.

Critics of preferential hiring for minority groups and women on campus can legitimately question the compatability of any preference system with the merit principle, but their credentials for a stance on principle are often tarnished by their prior passivity in the face of restrictiveness and prejudice that excluded qualified people from consideration.

Solutions to Injustices

If the first step in achieving equitable competition for faculty positions today is recognition of our discriminatory past, the second step is establishment of systematic, open listing and recruitment practices. Not too many years ago, some college admissions directors were piously wringing their hands over the failure of qualified minority group students to apply. It turned out that the schools' interviewing and recruiting staffs, while visiting suburban high schools regularly, made only erratic calls on inner city schools or schools in predominantly black communities. Equalizing visitation schedules had a remarkable effect on applications for admission. Equalizing listing and recruitment practices could produce similar beneficial results, provided searches are for ability and not status.

All faculty openings should be listed with relevant professional associations and advertised in nationally available publications such as the *Chronicle of Higher Education* or the education section of the *New York Times*. A National Advisory Board on Fair Recruitment which would include male and female educational leaders of all races and religions, established under auspices of the American Council on Education or similar educational organization, should investigate charges of

discrimination in hiring, and undertake continuing research into and issue advisory opinions on recruitment practices and procedures. Some school officials would no doubt view even this small step as a threat to their autonomy. Most, I hope, would recognize it as a constructive step on the road to equal employment opportunity in the academic world, without which the dangers of heavy-handed governmental orders substituting bureaucratic for educational norms will become acute.

In making this proposal, I pass no judgment on the substantive results of HEW affirmative action plans arranged with or imposed on individual schools; but I do object strongly to the edict-issuing methodology of the agency and reject the "end justifies the means" argument here as fully as in the case of any other denial of due process. That there have not been recent court cases involving federal efforts to control faculty hiring is not especially to the credit of either government or academic officials, federal agency programs and policies having seesawed with the political winds and some universities having bent to pressures out of fear along. What is essential is that school officials and faculties actively commit themselves to openness and equity in their hiring practices and that they be prepared legally to resist incursions into fair practices from whatever source.

The hiring practices I propose are obviously more costly as well as time consuming than restrictive or exclusive dealing, but neither convenience nor size of the price tag can be allowed to determine whether to opt for integrity.

If economic constraints must not alter the principle of openness of recruitment, will they make recruitment a moot issue as burgeoning costs and declining enrollments drive distinctive private schools to the brink of economic disaster? I do not doubt for a moment that some of the finest of our private institutions are in economic jeopardy. To put it coldly, though, it would be preferable that they go under than that the price of survival be the perpetuation of prejudice.

Faculties have a responsibility today to educate the public about the multiple needs of their institutions, just as they should keep the public informed about their multiple achievements. This is by no means a task for public relations offices alone. Faculty members should plan and administer cultural and educational programs to which the general public are invited as one means of strengthening community understanding and support. Insularity and isolation are neither feasible nor acceptable as academic hallmarks. Members of the public who were legitimately concerned with student excesses in the late 60's that threatened academic excellence have all the more reason for involvement in sustaining educational quality against financial crises in the 70's. Needless to say, this dimension of faculty responsibility is not the product of previous court decisions; it is an instrument for preventing future court actions, especially insolvency.

Summary

Recent court decisions dealing with higher education enhance the status of faculty members by heightening the accountability of state colleges and universities for denials of free speech or due process. Private institutions remain technically immune from constitutional prohibitions, but that phase of the law is in flux. Campus by-laws, handbooks or contracts, which traditionally recognize and affirm basic constitutional rights of faculty members, can provide bases for breach of contract actions in private institutions where rights are denied.

Courts are not, however, soliciting business from academia; they are willing, not anxious, to enter academic disputes when issues retain their significance and justiciability after internal procedures have been utilized. No one need fear waves of campus sit-ins or takeovers in the '70s by lawyers and judges.

The protections afforded through judicial action should spur faculties to concentrate on their primary goals and functions, freeing them from once warranted preoccupations with *in loco parentis* issues. Faculties have the responsibility to focus on intra-faculty standards and relationships—such as the operation of tenure systems, utilization of the skills of creative colleagues who have reached formal retirement age, and morale and participation in decision making of junior colleagues—and to evaluate the develope curricular needs, criteria for innovative and inspirational teaching, stimuli to research for human betterment and instruments for apprising the outside community of the benefits higher education conveys as a consequence of private citizens' taxes and contributions.

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FRANCIS C. PRAY

Trustees Revisited

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Men and women as individuals, students, parents, governments, churches, foundations and corporations like to put their support behind dynamic, growing, exciting, well-managed enterprises. These must have goals which are relevant to important human needs, show evidence that they know where they are going, and have a plan for getting there.

The image and the activity of the board of trustees, its competence in providing quality leadership, and its commitment to and performance in service to the institution are the key to gaining this support. What is the present state of the art of trusteemanship? How do board decisions affect the shape of the institutions they serve? This essay is a situation report, and attempts to provide some insight into the relationship of board effectiveness and institutional viability.

Interest in trustees is bursting out all over. Church boards of education have publications for trustees of their colleges. Trustees of New York State colleges come together annually for a conference on mutual problems. A special bulletin of *The Chronical of Higher Education* is prepared especially for trustees. The Association of Governing Boards is a national membership arena for discussion of trustee problems. The Association of Community College Trustees has set up its own office. Panels and discussions of trustee roles and responsibilities are featured at practically every major educational conference concerned with institutional management. Institutes on the roles of trustees are mounted by cooperating groups of institutions under government and foundation support. Many individual institutions have annual trustee retreats for orientation and discussions of special problems in depth. Handbooks for trustees have been published by the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the Board of Education of the United Methodist

Church, the Regents of the State of New York, and by others. Studies of trustees have been launched and reports published by the Carnegie Corporation, the Council For Financial Aid To Education, and others.

Truly the age of the trustee has come. How the individual trustees respond and how boards perform will determine the future of higher education in America.

The Necessity of Boards

The current wave of interest and concern comes at a most appropriate time. A recent study[1] shows that the percentage of the public expressing a "great deal of confidence" in education dropped from 61% in 1966 to 37% in 1971 and to 33% in 1972. These percentages of confidence are lower than those in medicine, finance, science, and the military.

One might speculate what the comparable percentage of confidence in college trustees might be today, but one is rather shaken by the fact that while no reputable persons, to our knowledge, have advocated widespread closing of our colleges and universities, a number of educators have seriously raised the question as to whether or not there is a viable role for boards of trustees. In an atmosphere at many institutions where the trustees are seen as disputatious, uninformed, and reactionary, or in many others where policies of non-disclosure of finances and secrecy in the decision-making process have prevailed, one finds the lack of confidence in the trustees and doubts as to their viability easy to understand.

Yet the principle of providing lay policy leadership continues valid. The evidence is overwhelming that when any professional group is left entirely to itself, whether it be a church, the military, a government, or an educational system, syndicalist structures become dominant. Traditions, the instinct for self-protection and resistance to change combine to stultify progress and bring the organization to an increasing remoteness from public concerns and needs.

The record of performance by lay leadership, when functioning effectively, argues strongly that viability is inherent in the structure and that the problem is one of encouraging better performance and evolutionary change to adapt to new opportunities. So, too, with boards of college and university trustees. With all their problems no one, in the opinion of this writer, as some one once said about democracy, has come up with a better system. Making the lay policy leadership system work is another matter.

We would strike a note of optimism amid the current criticism of the roles of trustees in many independent institutions, and in the turmoil of organization of boards of new public colleges and in the searching for a better definition of purpose for boards of more established institutions. Emerging, it seems to us, is the recognition that there is a body of practical experience which can be drawn upon to make boards of trustees more effective.

A decade or so ago it was difficult to find a substantial literature dealing with composition, organization, and operation of boards of trustees in the field of education. Today the number of studies, articles, and essays is legion. Principles for the various phases of "trusteemanship" have been evolved, articulated, and tested. Boards which were the preserve of the businessman have been leavened by the addition of educators, members of minorities, youth, and women. Trustees are being held to higher accountability. A sort of Magna Carta or Vatican II has been accepted in principle to suggest that accountability must accompany responsibility and privilege, even at the top echelon of educational governance.

What principles seem to be emerging? What is the real role of college trustees, anyway? What modes of composition, of organization, and operation will characterize boards in the 1980's?

The Role of the Board

Concepts of the role of trustees range all the way from that of the crusty old-timer who says, "We run this place," and does, to that of the beleaguered chairman who says, "We just try to keep the college running and the wolf from the door one year at a time."

While ultimate responsibilities of boards may seem clear in law, they are less clear in practice. The trustees of Columbia University, in adopting a report of a study committee[2] agreed that:

> "The major legal responsibilities which devolve upon trustees are, in the opinion of this Committee, three:
>
> "(a) to select and appoint the President of the University:
>
> "(b) to be finally responsible for the acquisition, conservation, and management of the University's funds and properties;
>
> "(c) to oversee and approve the *kind* of education offered by the University, and make certain that its *quality* meets the highest standards possible."

No one would quarrel with the responsibility of selecting and appointing the president or being responsible for conservation and management of funds and properties. Where the Committee struck new ground in the concepts of most trustees was in pointing out that the trustees are also "finally responsible for the *acquisition*. . .of funds"; and that they must "oversee and approve the *kind* of education offered and make certain that its *quality* meets the highest standards possible." Accepting the final responsibility of the "acquisition" of funds is resisted by many boards, even *abhorrent* to many trustees. Responsibility for overseeing the *kind* and *quality* of education offered is a concept unfamiliar to perhaps a majority, except as lip service.

In another fundamental study of trustee roles, that of the board of

trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, by Donald R. Belcher, the question is asked:

> "Is this University carrying out, to the maximum extent of its resources, those educational and research functions which are not only consistent with the objectives of its donors but best calculated to serve the needs of society in our day and in the foreseeable future?"[1]

Thus is introduced a fourth role, that of sharing a responsibility for seeing that the educational institution is operated in the public interest, an obligation which is responsive to the expectations of society which provides tax relief and tax support for the college or university in the belief that it performs a socially useful function.

A fifth role, that of institutional sponsorship, is suggested by this writer, although it includes and suggests overtones of certain roles reviewed above. The quality of sponsorship which connotes advocacy is here the further dimension.

In public presentations, in addresses and articles, especially in discussion with scores of individual trustees, there has seemed to be developing a consensus that the foregoing provide a basic set of expectations of trustee performance. These may be restated and expanded as follows:

1. To Set the Goals.

Muddy administration and confused faculties and incomplete planning follow a failure of the governing board to agree on and articulate clearly and persuasively the fundamental mission or goals of the institution.

While young faculty, eager administrators and even a few students are consistently asking, over coffee in the cafeteria, "What are the goals of this institution, anyway?", most boards of trustees act as though their primary purpose is to answer the needs of the day, respond to the calls of nature of the institution, and balance the budget. Committees report with more or less regularity on details of the audit, the state of the physical plant, the return on the endowment; some may give attention to the problems of student affairs or student recruitment, government support or private funds development. But seldom is there serious discussion or adequate time for study given to the task of defining or redefining the social goal of the institution, its basic purposes, or its general strategy for accomplishment.

The board of the future will not have the luxury of avoiding these problems which demand hard straight thinking, detailed and complete staff work, objective analysis and evaluation by experienced counsellors, and a willingness to be objective about the sacred cows and mythologies which may characterize the governance pattern. In their role as trustees of the institution for others (the public interest, in this case, implicit in tax exemption and other privileges) the trustees must satisfy themselves

that the institution is, indeed, meeting a valid social concern. Perhaps to their surprise, but certainly to their satisfaction, they will find that, as it does so, it will prosper. In setting up subsets of goals, the trustees will perform their function of administering by concerning themselves with the effectiveness of management, evaluation of accomplishment, and gethering the necessary support.

In this role the trustees serve as a bridge between the larger environment and the institution, interpreting through their policy directives their understanding of the needs of society which may be met by the institution, helping to keep its goals aligned with changing factors in our society, and guiding the plans which will result in successful accomplishment.

2. To Assure a Distinctive Program.

The Columbia trustee would call this responsibility one of assuring "quality." We would say rather that the trustees must assure themselves not only that the program of the institution is of a general high quality but that it is distinctive in those areas where the institution has special resources and where it can best respond effectively, economically and consistently to its highest priority objectives. They must develop an understanding of the criteria used in the field of education to measure quality. They must be assiduous in examining the quality of the product and the quality of the process, while recognizing the integrity and the responsibility of the faculty and management to determine the means.

3. To Create and Maintain Superior Management.

Many boards of trustees accept the responsibility for electing a president and, once having done so, settle back to "let him run the institution," thus abdicating their continuing legal responsibility for policy direction and oversight of the quality of management performance. Some boards live for years with unsatisfactory management in the belief that it is somehow not their fault if things are not going well. Changes are too often made only under conditions of the most severe stress. We would assert that the trustees are also ultimately responsible for the performance of management. They must not only select the president, but must assure themselves, from time to time, through proper evaluative processes, that management is carrying out the policies of the board, making substantial contributions to the accomplishment of the objectives of the institution, and effectively directing its program and resources within the policy rubric.

Fortunately, an increasing emphasis on the legal responsibilities of lay leadership is persuading many boards that they must consider this role with increasing seriousness.

4. To Provide Adequate Financing.

In a great many independent institutions, and in most public institutions, the trustees, seeking comfort, have traditionally thought to perform this role by managing resources provided by others. The board which accepts its *full* responsibility for the success of the institution, however, will become an enthusiastic advocate for required support from

government, church, and all constituencies. As individuals, trustees will be expected also to be personally and meaningfully committed and responsible participants in the institution's effort to accumulate private support. In addition, trustees must assure themselves that the physical resources of the institution are managed intelligently for highest return on the financial side and for highest productive contribution to the educational program on the physical side.

One of the saddest performances observed by this writer was the action of the board of one state university. It seemed to accept its role as one of saving the state money by paring the university budget, rather than its proper role of seeking public money adequate to the pressing needs of the university in its endeavor to serve the people of the Commonwealth. Nor is this attitude confined only to public boards. It is demonstrated by the possessive board operating a church-related institution which is jealous of its rights to represent the church but fails to represent the full opportunities of the institution.

5. To Provide Distinguished Sponsorship.

The role of sponsorship of the institution is generally neither well understood nor aggressively implemented. No matter how individuals may argue in private, the prestige of the college or university in last analysis will reflect the degree of which the board brings to its policy guidance distinguished performance, loyalty, and trust. While sponsorship as a role is a concommitant of other roles of trustees, as a special asset it is compounded of the ability to act with humaneness, cooperativeness, and intelligence on behalf of the institution - the institution before politics, before self-interest, before comfort. The search for an answer as to how well it may seem to sponsor the institution, in the public eye, might give pause to many an aggregation of otherwise self-satisfied trustees.

Expectations for the 1980's.

As roles of boards of trustees become better appreciated and understood - and accepted - we may expect that implications for trustee membership, board organization, and board operation will become clearer. Some of these implications have already been recognized and implemented by boards of a number of independent and of some public institutions. It will not surprise anyone to note that there are certain institutions whose boards are having great difficulties in adjusting to sophisticated comprehensive leadership roles. These are the ones which have been historically heavily church-dominated, many of the public community colleges, and a host of the state colleges and universities which have recently exploded from earlier status as technical institutes, colleges for teachers, or other locally oriented functions. Yet even boards of older more established institutions are in a state of self-examination in modes resembling the studies at Columbia and Pennsylvania, using more sophisticated tools now emerging from trustee institutes, work of counsel to trustees, and students in the field.

We predict continued and perhaps increased attention to the following:

1. Composition of the Board.

The variety of roles to be played by the board requires a variety of skills, experience, and background which is too much to expect of any individual member. Alert boards, therefore, are increasingly analyzing the needs for these qualities and exploring carefully a recruitment process which will provide them. While commitment, interest, and individual competence in some given area are *sine qua non*, a board of trustees for a technological institute which does not contain a single distinguished engineer is inadequate. So are a board of trustees for a church-related college which has half of its members from the clergy and contains no distinguished financial management expertise, or a board of trustees of a public institution composed primarily of politically oriented men and women, which has failed to provide itself with top management know-how or distinguished educational representation. Such a board hardly is in a position to act creatively on behalf of the institution, no matter how well it may represent the public, a church, or a government.

Attention to the composition of the board, therefore, is a first prerequisite in being sure that the aggregation of men and women responsible for policy direction of the institution contains that complex of skills, knowledge and background necessary for effective decision. Some use special tools developed and tested by trustee counsel;[4] some rely on more subjective methods; but the attempt must be made in the interest of implementing the role.

As a special case of the problem of composition of the board, nothing has been more dramatic in recent years than the degree to which the deliberations of trustees have been exposed to public scrutiny and the pressure for opening up board membership under the demand for greater responsiveness.

The demand for student and faculty voting membership on the board has been persistent in past years although now may be ebbing as a result of other practices which accomplish the same purpose.

This writer resists the move toward placing students or faculty of an institution on its board of trustees. This violates the principle of separation of role, responsiveness, and dilutes the effectiveness of operation. Should trustees vote in the selection of courses in chemistry?

On the other hand, we strongly support the principles which call for openness, better communication, and a system of participation by elements of the institution in the process of arriving at judgments.

The most successful device for accomplishing genuine interface between board and elements of the institutional family is the growing practice of having students and faculty representation on trustee com-

mittees with full and genuine invitation to participate in the process of developing the materials on which trustee judgments will ultimately be made. Whether or not the non-trustee members participate with equal vote with trustee committee members in trustee recommendations or whether only the trustee segment of the committee authorizes the report to the board is relatively immaterial. Experience shows that there genuine community is evolved, the facts in most cases lead to consensus and the issue seldom arises. If it does, majority and minority reports may be submitted for the guidance of consideration by the entire board on the issues of policy.

Presence of representatives at trustee meetings is also a growing practice. It has resulted not only in better communication and awareness of institutional problems but also in many cases has stimulated the board, under scrutiny, to a higher standard of performance.

2. Organization of the Board.

Given a board composed of dedicated committed members, balanced as to qualities and background, powerful and influential enough to move with effectiveness on behalf of the institution, what are the trends in organization? Over the years trustee organization has varied from committees of the whole to proliferation into many different and sometimes conflicting structures. The latter has been the rule rather than the exception. The present trend is to have an executive committee and four or five basic committees dealing with academic matters, student affairs, business affairs, and development and public relations. It is common also, to find committees on investments, buildings and grounds, audit, nominations, planning, research, church relations, government relations, and so forth.

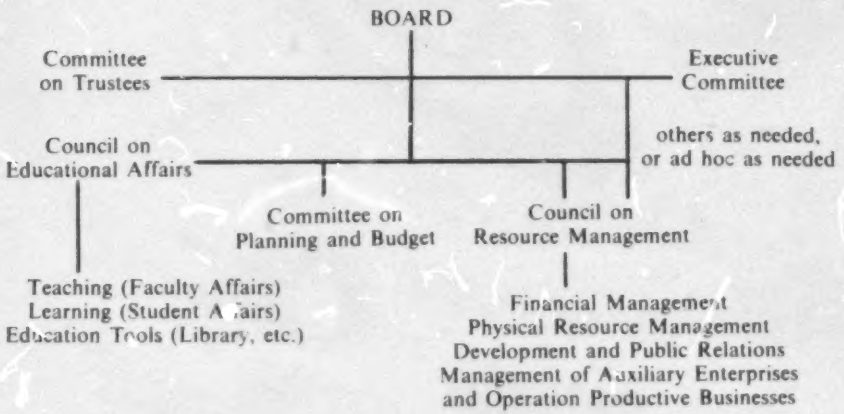
Committee structure seems to have followed the interests and experience and concerns of the trustees and to a degree the management structure of the institution rather more than the needs and organization of the educational and resource development process. Thus, while one or at the most two committees are assigned the whole area of education (the heart of the typical institution), other committees function with relatively narrow purposes in such a way that there is little or no possibility of bringing into a comprehensive strategy the total resource of the support programs of the institution. While trustees inspect paint jobs and building maintenance, worry about managing the portfolio, and organize to assist in fund-raising or government relations, the possibility of developing a total financial strategy is lost in the consideration of problems which bulk equally large and consume equal amounts of time on the trustee agenda.

There seems to be developing, and should, in several institutions a deliberate attempt to arrive at a total resource management strategy under trustee-sponsored leadership, which would exploit the synergy possible in building new relationships between and among the support func-

tions. At the highest level, therefore, the board of trustees may be developing toward a committee organization which would give senior status to two major effort - (1) in education and related processes and (2) the total management of financial and physical resources.

A planning committee, charged with constant review of goals, and the strategies of budgeting along with a committee on trustees and the executive committee, (held in reserve for emergencies) would complete the organization.

It is not possible in this brief overview to develop the complete rationale for the change, but the writer notes increased interest in discussing organizational patterns for trustees resembling the following.



This system dignifies the function of members of the board, enlarges their responsibility, provides synergy in educational and resource programs, and provides for a budgeting process which is responsive to goals and planning. It brings to the board the luxury of having responsibility (and time) for discussion of important policy matters and, hopefully, might even provide an opportunity for creating policy by objective rather than by crisis.

3. Operation of the Board.

Board operating problems and the techniques of adequately staffing the board and its committees are at once ones of procedures and of empathy. Lack of space prohibits discussion of the kind of methods which might be helpful, but there are at least three major operational imperatives which deserve special mention.

a. Evaluation

Board after board, in the writer's experience, has developed uneasy feelings that "things are not going very well," but has seemed to lack

either the will for action or experience in methodology which would provide for it the evidence on which to act.

Under the thesis of accountability, we believe the board which accepts responsibility for quality of operation must, in the name of prudence, assure itself on a regular basis that, indeed, the institution is operating in an effective and responsible way. Trustees call for annual audits of the books of the institution. They call in CPA's and financial investment counsel. They are ready to separate a purchasing agent taking a kickback, or even separate a president if he is guilty of gross mismanagement — although it has to be pretty gross. But in terms of being informed in order to set wise educational policy and interpret needs, the board should run an audit of other factors.

A few boards have sought an answer, constructively, by adopting a special bylaw, providing for a rolling evaluation, on a regular basis, of major institutional operations. One such model bylaw provides:

> *Audit and Review.* There shall be a periodic audit and review of the state of each of the following aspects of the College: (a) the work of the President and of his administration; (b) the educational program, including faculty and student affairs; (c) business and physical plant management; (d) development and financing; (e) the Board of Trustees' operations and effectivenss. Each of these aspects shall be examined at least once every five years and one shall be conducted each year. These audits and reviews shall be conducted by ad hoc committees which shall report to the full board. The Chairman of such committees shall be a trustee.

In this way, the prudent trustee can satisfy himself that he understands clearly and objectively the quality of performance of the institution and the adequacy of its management and its programs. A number of college presidents have called for reviews of their tenure on a five-year or ten-year interval. Scheduling audits on a regular basis enhances accountability, provides a non-threatening context, and satisfies trustees' need to know. We predict that the evaluation or institutional "audit" in this more general sense will become common during the next decade and that trustees will evolve terms comprising not only their own members with special expertise but other volunteers and perhaps paid counsel to assist them in performing the duty of assuring themselves on a regular and systematic basis that the goals and level of performance sought in each of these areas are adequately being attained.

b. Board Renewal

Trustees, under pressure, are heard to talk more and more about holding management *accountable* for better performance and have begun to consider how faculty can be persuaded to be more accountable for better education and higher productivity. It is not a giant step to suggest that trustees themselves must be held to a higher standard of accountability, not only because of increased legal emphasis on trustee account-

ability, but because only by being accountable can the trustees perform their role with that degree of effectiveness which can give the institution its needed security and strength.

In most cases trustees legally own the institution, if it is private, or at least hold it "in trust" on behalf of a church or a government. It is their own accountability which should give them increasing concern. Since boards which are essentially self-perpetuating or are the result primarily of political appointment or election tend to remain static in quality, a special effort, it seems to us, must be made on a formal basis to provide for the ingredient of self-study and self-renewal. An encouraging trend in the operation of at least a few boards is that of organizing a standing trustee committee responsible for the whole process of trustee change, vitality, morale and renewal. It reports to the full board and not through the executive committee.

A number of boards are writing into their bylaws the provision for a committee on trustees, elected by the board and not appointed by the chairman. One such model bylaw reads as follows:

(1) To assess continually and appraise board organization, operation, membership and attendance to assure maximum effectiveness and to make such recommendations from time to time as, in its judgment, will accomplish the objectives of the board;

(2) To maintain a trustee candidate list through a constant search to identify individuals best able to serve the college at the trustee level;

(3) To prepare and maintain a program of orientation for new trustees;

(4) To make nominations for membership on the board and of such offices of the board and committees as are required elsewhere in the bylaws.

Other elements of renewal may be represented in the growing trend toward "roll-over of membership". Under this plan a trustee completing a second four- or third three-year term must leave the board for at least one year before being eligible for re-election. Other boards are providing for limitation of terms of officers of the board. Five or six year terms are recommended as maximum.

c. Morale and Dignity

As one who has witnessed the shameful spectacle of open wrangles in board meetings, and, in one case, members of a public board in a public hearing exchanging obscenities with a spectator, it is necessary to stress, again, that boards which cannot attain a high degree of humanity, mutual respect, agreement on decency in interpersonal relationships, are facing a crisis which risks not only their loss of self-respect but the loss of respect for the institution.

One public board, suddenly aware of the spectacle it was creating,

adopted a written "gentlemen's agreement" on operational imperatives to provide for orderly transaction of business and found that its own self-imposed restraint began to affect the individual members in producing a new degree of humanity (humaneness) in approaching the troublesome problems of the institution and its constituencies and its publics.

If this quality demands some degree of human greatness, let that be so. If it is a problem which must be consciously faced, then let it be faced openly and honestly. But a board whose individual members cannot overcome the human tendencies to express self-pride, and self-interest, and cannot submerge themselves into a sincere common concern *for the institution* must face this as a special problem, indeed.

a. Style

Styles in board operation also seem to be changing.

Two practices common in the past seem to be increasingly giving way to more open style and broader involvement of trustees as individuals.

(1) Governance by a strong board chairman working closely as an individual with the president, common in past years in all kinds of institutions, is giving way under the pressure of more responsible board members seeking their own role, and the recognition that affairs of the institution are no longer simple enough to be handled by cronyism. Where this goes on, trustees should stop it.

(2) Governance by executive committee, often meeting all too frequently, and therefore becoming immersed in operating details, seems to be giving way under two countervailing pressures: the pressure of alert management to do more of its own managing, and the recognition that this style in which the executive committee makes virtually all decisions and merely reports them to the board results in an inactive and therefore ineffective board resource.

As our whole society is increasingly characterized by "openness" and as many become increasingly convinced that openness, when attained without dilution of responsibility, provides a better basis for judgment, boards will increasingly organize more effectively for decision-making, for broader examination of policy, for more effective sponsorship, and for programs which will give an important role to each member.

e. Accountability

Trustees over the years have been fond of talking about accountability of students and of faculty and of administration. We now observe that a whole new dimension of accountability is being expected of trustees.

The trustees in one state are reading very carefully the law which says that, if they have failed in prudent management of the institutions in their care, they are responsible to the extent of their personal fortunes. In another state the trustees of a college have been sued individually by its creditors for its unpaid bills.

Illegal acts and misuse of endowment funds are obvious cause for legal action. Now, however, we may see suits based on alleged neglect by trustees of their proper functions of reviewing management, evaluating policies, and providing reasonable answers to deficits and other financial crises. We can at least imagine the possibility of a "class action" against the trustees by parents or students, if the trustees have failed to take reasonable steps to prevent loss of accreditation and consequent "devaluation" of the degree; or provide for safety of personnel; or for unwise use of endowment.

How seriously the problem of trustee liability is being taken by one university board is evident in its recent action in providing liability insurance protection in the amount of $1,000,000.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE TRUSTEES

An essay on trustees would not be complete without a word about the role of the president in his relationships with the board.

In almost a classic hen or egg situation poor boards, or good trustees operating ineffectively, are almost always products of the neglect of the president; and poor presidents, or even good persons operating at less than true capacity, are almost always products of the indifference or lack of knowledgeability or lack of commitment of the board.

Great boards do not tolerate indifferent performance on the part of the president. Great presidents are always working to help create powerful and responsive boards.

In every institution where these two elements exist together, the competent president and the competent board, the story is one of institutional success or the confident expectation of success.

Where is the blame to be placed or credit given for failure or success in creating this team?

Many of the problems begin with the selection of the president. Too many searches begin with preconceived notions that "we want a scholar," or a "businessman," or someone who is "young," or someone who has had a great deal of "experience." Too seldom does the board in these cases conduct any analysis of the institution to determine what its current and future problems may be to which the president must address himself; too seldom does it go beyond the "references" and recommendations of friends in checking out the capabilities of candidates; too seldom does it reach a clear understanding with each finalist candidate as to its expectations of him in order that he may respond with a fair assessment of his own capacities for the job for which he is being considered.

Once selected, because there are no comprehensive guidelines for the behavior of the college president, although several helpful books and essays on the subject have been written by presidents reviewing their own experience, most chief executives accept their jobs with an unclear perception as to what will be expected of them or how they might organize themselves for performance. The presidents from the academic world, especially, have little or no experience and in many cases not even

significant awareness of the problems of creating and working with a major volunteer resource as represented by a board of trustees. Indeed the procedures for working with and building a board run almost counter to the experience and needs of the scholar whose aim is to increase his own personal competence in a discipline and who sees any infringement on this task as something to be resisted or out-maneuvered. One president of a well known Eastern college, made something of a career out of complaining that the presidency did not permit him to be a scholar. He didn't recognize a new priority, that, as president, his duty was to help others become scholars.

Yet the president who can see himself as beneficiary of the concerns and assistance of a group of experienced and influential men and women concerned collegially in building a great institution reaches his highest potential. Easy for him, thereafter, are the tasks of building an institutional community of quality, of finding and guiding management resources to provide effective use of people, money, and material in the interests of the teaching and learning process. In this role he will be at the nexus of the operation which coordinates and operates the educational enterprise under wise policy direction and with the assistance implicit in the influence and availability of expertise of the volunteers who comprise the board of trustees.

If he will see himself not as "running the institution," but as the senior line officer presiding (president) in the efforts of those who may individually bring greater talents than he possesses in each particular field, something unusual will be accomplished.

The competent board will not merely elect a president and then hope for the best. It will have developed guidelines to share with the president as the president helps define institutional priorities. Individually, many trustees may act informally as counsellor and friend to the president, especially as they may have special expertise to offer in management, planning, or the process of change. They will work with him in the process of management review required by progressive bylaws. And they will be ready to be objective if changes must be made.

The president, on his part, must be prepared to work with the board, to give time to the care and feeding of trustees, their psychic as well as intellectual and physical needs. If the president is afraid of strength, uncertain as to his own role, unable to submerge his own ego needs in the task of building the board, the institution will suffer inevitably.*

Many rules of thumb have been stated to guide the allocation of time of the president among his various responsibilities. These range all the way from those suggesting that 25 percent of his time be given respectively to education, student affairs, business affairs and institutional relations, to those of the extremists who would say respectively that (1) first and foremost he must be a scholar and an educator, or (2) his major job is to be a businessman and fund-raiser.

Surely allocation of time among these areas will depend upon changing exigencies, but why has no one suggested that a priority attention to building a great board, using some of the principles outlines earlier in this chapter, will make it possible for the president to be more effective in his other roles?

To paraphrase, presidents must not be afraid of great boards: a few are naturally great, some achieve greatness by the work of accident or of individual trustees, but if not great otherwise, it is the duty of presidents to be sure that greatness is thrust upon them.

The president and the board together who achieve greatness in their performance of trust for the institution will have created a tradition and a momentum which in the highest sense will be a crowning accomplishment in the guarantee of institutional stability, security, and service.

* In an often quoted study off 44 strong institutions, conducted by Paul H. Davis, college consultant to the *Readers Digest*, he found that without exception, they had, or had had, exceptionally able boards of trustees.

FOOTNOTES

Louis Harris poll, reported in *The Chronicle Of Higher Education*, December 14, 1972.

²*The Role of the Trustees of Columbia University: The Report of the Special Trustees Committee*; adopted by the Trustees, November 4, 1957. (Emphasis given as in The Report.)

³Donald R. Belcher, *The Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960.

⁴Francis C. Pray, "Match Your Trustees To Your Needs", *College and University Business*, February, 1973, provides a worksheet for such processes.

Appendix

A MINI-TEST FOR THE TRUSTEE

1. *Does the Institution Perform a Useful Role?* Can each trustee describe this role - forcefully, persuasively? Can he or she explain clearly how the role contributes to society and to humanity? Has the role been reevaluated recently enough to see if it fulfills the mission originally set forth for the institution?
2. *Does the Trustee Know Whether or not Programs are of Good Quality? Does the Trustee have Adequate Information as to the Quality of the Faculty?* Figures on comparative faculty salaries? Degrees? Does he have a grasp of the tenure problems and their implications for economic and educational policy? Is the board concerned that there be policies to provide flexibility in curriculum as needs change?

3. *Does the Trustee Have a Clear Picture as to the Adequacy of Management?* Of the president? And his management team? Has the board established a basis for judging the effectiveness of the management team in terms of objectives to be accomplished? Does management provide relevant information for policy-making? Is the budget process and planning operation sound? Is the development operation economically valid? Are the plans for the future both inspiring and pragmatic?
4. *Is the Board Itself Effective?* Is each trustee the best that can be had - in each role? Are meetings of the board effective experiences? (If not, whose fault is it?) Is there a program to keep the board alert; remove dead wood?
5. *Has the Board a Broad Financial Policy?* Does each trustee feel a strong personal commitment to participate in the development program? Has the Board reached a consensus as to policies of the institution for government aid? For tuition levels as it affects nature of the student body? Is the management of financial resources aggressive and productive?

Give each question 0 to 20 points, being as tough and realistic as possible in the evaluation. If the board scores 80, it has an effective program but plenty of room for improvement. Administered recently to a group of trustees of smaller colleges, only one scored 70 and one trustee, in frustration, suggested that his board score should be a minus quantity. How about yours?

. . .AND FOR THE PRESIDENT

1. *Do you really want trustees powerful and tough enough to be helpful?* Is your ego secure enough to share limelight with trustees? Are you constantly seeking strategies to replace inadequate trustees, even if they are comfortable, safe, and personally supportive, with more able persons? Do you share your defeats, seeking better answers, as well as your victories, resulting in praise? Do you order your priorities to encourage strong trustees to take significant roles?
2. *Do you educate your trustees?* Is there a formal plan for indoctrination of new trustees, including explanation of the financial picture by the institution's chief financial officer, vists with faculty and students, briefing meetings with senior trustees? Is part of each board meeting a deliberate attempt to go in depth into some significant aspect of education or educational management?
3. *Do you keep the interest of your trustees?* Are your reports to trustees brief, readable, directed to important issues for policy decisions? Are the problems you bring to the board significant enough to warrant real attention? Are committees professionally staffed and encouraged to tackle real and not superficial problems? Do you avoid leaning so heavily on the executive committee that trustees in general meetings

become little more than rubber-stamps? Do you encourage an annual trustee retreat and make it so interesting, challenging (and fun) that a high percentage of the board turns out every year?

4. *Do you reward trustees?* The excitement of being useful in important matters is a basic reward, but do you remember the niceties of recognitions, thanks to spouses, and other thoughtful acts that build a sense of community between trustees and the institution? Even more importantly, do you encourage students, faculty or others who are the beneficiaries of trustee thoughtfulness and generosity to express their own appreciation?
5. *Do you feel satisfied you are doing all you can to maximize the trustee resource?*

. . .

Give each question 20 points, being as objective as possible with yourself. As in the preceding test a score of 80 is commendable. Fifty is probably above average, but not therefore encouraging. Anything below 70 suggests that improvement is advisable; below 60 heavy remedial action is called for. As a checkpoint the brave president will ask a savvy trustee or two to rate him - the president - on these points and will discuss the results without defensiveness if they suggest corrective action.

ROBERT J. FINNEY, JR.

Patterns of Private Support of American Higher Education

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Changing trends of financial support to higher education are influencing the reshaping of American higher education, though the causal relationship is not a strong one. Changes in donor attitudes require changes in fund raising *techniques*. But the planned results remain the same: to bring private financial support to our colleges and universities so that the other changes and trends occasioned by students, faculties, administrators and trustees can be facilitated.

This is true in virtually every aspect of fund raising from the private sector, with the possible exception of foundations. In this essay I would like to show how fund raising efforts are adapting to other changes in higher education, even though fund raising changes in themselves are not *per se* overriding factors in altering the shape of higher education in the United States.

To cite one example to clarify this point: in the past three years total freshmen enrollment in engineering institutions has declined by 30%. This is a definite pattern in higher education. The fund raiser's job in this case, then, is to find more scholarship funds for prospective engineering students; to help engineering schools reshape their curriculum into a more attractive educational mode; and, inevitably, to help finance engineering schools likely to be faced with deficits. In short, trends of private support to American higher education are in many ways dictated by circumstances rather than directed by the individuals responsible for the securing of funds.

The Current Situation and a Recent Historical View

"Crisis" might be the most overworked cliche being used to describe the plight of higher education today, but a look at the fiscal situation at many or most institutions substantiates the harsh reality of the word. Operating budget deficits are the rule rather than the exception. Scores of private colleges have closed their doors in the past three years or are on the verge of doing so. The reason: lack of funds. The reasons for the lack of funds are many. To cite a few of the more obvious:

a) Declining enrollments due to the end of the "baby boom" and the Southeast Asian war which once forced many students into the draft haven of higher education.

b) Fiscal mismanagement.

c) The rising costs of private higher education. In a labor intensive market, inflation has hurt badly. Costs have gone up; tuition (which approaches a consumer ceiling) has correspondingly skyrocketed; and the middle income American can no longer afford to send his son or daughter to an expensive private institution. And such institutions, for the most part, do not have sufficient funds for scholarships.

d) The vast increase in federal funding in the previous decade which is now being cut back — or at least is not growing as rapidly as it once did. The past growth in federal funding led to inflated faculties and programs. Now that the money is drying up the programs and the faculties are not being, or cannot be, cut back commensurately.

e) The increasing number of community colleges.

f) The knowledge explosion which has led to an increase in faculty and courses out of all proportion to the increase in the number of students, *i.e.*, tuition payers.

g) Flagging alumni support (and support from other private sectors of the economy as well) in the sense that such support has not kept pace with rapidly increasing costs. In the case of so many institutions which have shut down completely there had been no private support whatsoever, and of course no endowment to take up the slack.

h) The stock market. Endowments have been eroded seriously.

These are but a few of the factors which can be cited as excuses for higher education's "crisis" predicament.

If one accepts the notion that there is a great need for a pluralism of public and private education in American society — as I do — then obviously something must be done to allow both public and private institutions to exist and flourish.

Higher education must manage better the fiscal resources it has. Higher education must begin to operate its physical plant on a year-

round basis. A better "marketing" job must be done (vis-a-vis our public institutions) or we will continue to see private institutions closing their doors. Higher education must adopt some form of a deferred tuition payment plan. Yale has already begun such a plan, and thanks to a grant from the Sloan Foundation a consortium of ten (as of this writing) prestigious Eastern institutions is studying the best method of implementing their own plan. But above all, colleges and universities must do a far more sophisticated and aggressive job in raising money from the private sector of our economy. Before discussing how this could be done, it might be helpful to look at the various forms of fund raising and understand the complexity of factors that are affecting the present pattern of giving.

Annual Giving

In 1966-67 the Council for Financial Aid to Education estimated that total voluntary support to higher education was $1,450,000,000. The estimate for 1972-73 (the latest figures available) was $4,240,000,000. In that same time span alumni *annual* gifts went from $91,477,401 to $157,590,901. If we accept the fact that capital campaigns cut into many annual giving campaigns, then the conclusion can be drawn that, as a percentage, alumni support of institutions as opposed to support from other private sources has remained steady during the past six years. But, as the table below indicates, an interesting phenomenon seems to be taking place. The institutions selected were those nine with the highest dollar totals to their annual giving campaign for which figures for the six year period are available from the Council for Financial Aid to Education.

Institution	*'66-'67 % Participation*	*'72-'73 % Participation*	*Participation % Change*	*Dollar Gain*	*% $ Gain*
Cornell	18.1	21.9	+ 3.8	$1,777,727	98.0
Harvard	27.6	24.2	- 3.4	2,362,210	53.9
Dartmouth	67.7	56.4	- 11.3	972,955	60.4
U. of Pa.	24.8	18.7	- 6.1	780,967	43.9
Princeton	70.6	48.6	- 22.0	1,025,084	45.4
Southern Calif.	8.1	NA	NA	82,241	8.1
Stanford	15.8	24.1	+ 8.3	1,938,457	158.9
Syracuse	28.1	27.0	1.1	261,501	56.1
Yale	44.0	36.0	- 8.0	852,752	22.9

The individual figures should not be subjected to a literal interpretation, for a number of these institutions were in the midst of capital campaigns which caused their annual effort to stagnate. *But we can come to a general conclusion that a fewer percentage of alumni of our more affluent institutions are giving more.* Put another way, the average gift of those who do participate is up substantially.

What are the reasons for the decline in participation? The stock market slump? Costly campus disruptions during this period? More and different demands for an educated individual's charitable dollar? The

reasons are numerous. Suffice it to say that the decline in participation of those who support their alma maters should be a subject of real concern for private higher education. Fewer individuals cannot be expected to carry more and more of the load for an unreasonable length of time.

Perry Laukhuff, formerly vice president of the then John Price Jones Company (educational consultants) in 1968 wrote the following:

> There are 6,750,000 alumni of American independent colleges and universities. Only 1,250,000 of them give regularly or often to these institutions. That is just 18% or less than one in five. Where are the other 5,500,000 who never give a penny to their own or any other independent college or university?. . .
>
> The colleges and universities are just not selling themselves to their own. . .
>
> As for the alumni, 5,500,000 minds need to reorder their priorities, and reawaken the will to give. If alumni cannot conscientiously support their own colleges, they can surely find another independent college to support. They must exercise the saving power which lies in their hands while there is yet something to save. They must reassess their responsibility as educated men and women.[1]

It is not enough simply to say "alumni need to reorder their priorities." Their reasons for refusing to give, as pointed out, are numerous, and, unfortunately, there is no method yet discovered to stem this trend. But let me suggest a few things which some of the more successful institutions in terms of annual giving results are doing. Since these devices are proving successful, they must be construed as trends in approaches to annual giving efforts and the attempts to solve decreasing participation.

- Beginning to solicit seniors and telling them of the institution's financial facts of life just prior to their graduation, as well as tailoring annual appeals to younger alumni in the hope that an established pattern of giving can be obtained early in the life of the alumnus.
- Seeking challenge gifts which offer incentives to alumni who have not given the previous year to give during the current year. The Cullman challenge grant at Yale, as one example, proved highly successful in bringing back into the fold many alumni who had not contributed in previous years.
- Placing heavy emphasis on "reunion giving". That is to say, asking alumni for significant increases during their reunion years and then suggesting they drop back to their usual pattern of giving in non-reunion years. Surprisingly few drop all the way back.
- Simply sending out more mail. In a survey done by Dartmouth College in 1969 letters were mailed to over 2,000 LYBUNTS

(*L*ast *Y*ear *BU*t *N*ot *T*his) asking the reason for their non-participation. Almost 60% of the respondents checked the box labeled "just forgot". More mail makes one less likely to forget.

So efforts are being made to stem the decline in alumni participation in annual campaigns. How successful they will be is almost impossible to forecast. And there is an ominous cloud hanging over the future participation of alumni in annual giving campaigns, particularly for the long run. I refer to the deferred tuition giving program which, as mentioned, was most likely to become one vehicle for helping solve some institutions' fiscal woes in the years ahead. There have been no studies done as yet on the Yale experience as to how their plan is affecting annual giving by those who have elected deferring their tuition. Common sense, however, would indicate that if an individual is repaying alma mater a certain percentage of his salary because he elected deferred tuition during his undergraduate years, he is less likely to be motivated to contribute "above and beyond" to the alumni fund. In the sense that deferred tuition plans are a "forced" means of fund raising it is patently clear that the implementation of this concept will have an effect on the reshaping of American higher education.

Foundations

General welfare foundations have consistently given between 25% and 26% of the total of voluntary support to higher education over the last five years. In fact foundation gifts have generally accounted for the greatest single source of voluntary support for the colleges and universities. Will that continue?

Private foundations under the mandate of the 1969 Tax Reform Act must, by 1975, begin paying out 6% of their minimum investment return or their adjusted net income, whichever is greater. This should have two effects: 1) those foundations in existence in 1975 will be distributing more of their money, and 2) there may be fewer foundations because the 1969 Tax Reform Act has several onerous features causing some foundations to liquidate and discouraging others from being formed. How this will net out in terms of how much goes to private higher education is an even more difficult question to answer. My guess is that the dollars to charity in general and education in particular from private foundations will increase. For the year 1972, at least, that proved to be the case. However, as this is being written, many foundations are cutting back on their grants because their assets have declined and the 1969 Tax Reform Act does not affect them.

For higher education, however, foundation grants frequently lead to real problems. It is a truism that the vast majority of private foundations wish to be on the "cutting edge" of education; they wish to be involved only with innovative programs. Few are giving for general operating support. Few are giving for endowment. The results are that institutions competing for foundation dollars are constantly formulating new and costly programs which they sell to a foundation, and to which they find

themselves committed once the foundation funds run out.

Just three years ago one of the country's most distinguished educators left his institution to head one of the larger foundations in the United States. Just prior to his appointment he made an eloquent plea for foundations to support excellence in education, not just new and innovative programs. Once he became the president of the foundation, it immediately began to give "seed" money for projects, just the opposite of the concept he had expounded while he was a higher education administrator.

This is no small dilemma. In the future, colleges and universities are going to have to ask themselves what are their priorities in terms of new programs, and then solicit foundation funds for those projects most likely to be undertaken even if no private money is available. To do otherwise is to invite possible added fiscal woes in the years ahead.

Jacques Barzun, in an article he wrote for *Alma Mater*, put it rather succinctly: "By pouring money into projects, studies and institutes — all new and superimposed on existing purposes — the foundations have steadily added to the financial and administrative burdens of universities. . ."[2]

The president of one major university wrote the following to the president of one of the ten largest foundations in America. It expresses my view well:

> I have reached a conclusion, which is not very flattering to the major foundations, and I know of no tactful way of putting it. It is my impression that many of the foundations that have traditionally given significant help to higher education are now so frightened by the enormity of the problem that they are adapting a strategy which will *contribute* (emphasis added) to the collapse of private higher education. In many instances funds which were previously channeled to private higher education have gone for other worthwhile purposes. And since the needs of all of our institutions are very great, many foundations have adapted the strategy of refusing to give core support and of supporting "add-ons."[3]

Thus, this specific area of fund raising is having an effect on the reshaping of American higher education. It is not, however, all bad. Many innovative programs are good and deserve to be continued even after the foundation funds have ceased. And in one particular area foundation funds have helped reshape American higher education: they have encouraged our colleges and universities to recruit minority and under-privileged students, and then helped with programs which bridge the educational gap between a poor secondary school background and the demands of a more difficult learning environment.

The most striking single example of how foundations are affecting American higher education is the effort by the Ford Foundation to upgrade the quality of a limited number of black institutions. During the

next five years fully 100 million dollars of Ford Foundation money is earmarked for these selected institutions. For the most part the money will be spent for faculty development, curricular changes, scholarships, in short, for a general improvement in the overall quality of these institutions.

Yet another trend in the foundation philanthropic field is towards professional administration of foundations caused, in part, by the reporting and accountability requirements of the 1969 Tax Reform Act. More and more of the intermediate size foundations are hiring executive directors to screen proposals for their trustees and carry out the administrative burdens of the foundation. An observation might be made that this trend towards "professionalism" in foundations is removing the personal element in foundation solicitation. The trustees may make the ultimate decision, but development officers or institutional trustees and alumni are inviting disaster if they attempt to end run a foundation employee to try and use personal influence on behalf of a proposal. As a general observation, fury hath no wrath as a foundation official scorned. With this trend, the move towards the funding of even more innovative programs should grow; the dangers to higher education in this regard have been cited above.

A third trend in the foundation field is the establishment of more community foundations, foundations which band together as a consortium and hire an administrator to handle the affairs of all the foundations. Here again college development officers, academic officers, alumni — whoever might once have been personally influential in helping obtain a grant — are being removed one step from the ultimate decision makers. The personal approach, while still important, is becoming less of a factor in the successful obtaining of a grant. Without the personal influence factor, it once again becomes more difficult to get a grant which would relieve a strained institutional budget.

Corporate Giving

Support to American higher education from business institutions (that benefit more than any other institution from our colleges and universities) is surprisingly low. In 1972-73 business corporations gave roughly $250,000,000 to higher education or only 13.6 percent of the total for those 1,020 institutions reporting.

In general, this support takes three forms: the matching of employee gifts, gifts in kind, and outright grants. In terms of the first, more and more industries are adapting matching gift programs. Assuming that alumni contributions continue to grow, business gifts through this vehicle should increase.

Too often, university development officers ignore the fact that corporations make "gifts in kind", *i.e.*, their own product to the institution. Computer companies have been known to give their equipment (usually for the *quid pro quo* of having it tested or further developed), camera companies have been known to donate lenses, and so forth. The trend in

this form of giving, however, is likely to be downward again because of the 1969 Tax Reform Act. Corporations can now deduct gifts in kind only up to their cost as previously opposed to their market value.

Outright gifts are harder to predict because they generally depend on the corporate profit picture. For example, in the economically affluent decade from 1956 to 1966 the rate of growth of corporate support to higher education, as reported by the Council for Financial Aid to Education, averaged 9.2% per year. In the relatively poor economic year of 1970 that support decreased by 5.2% from the previous year. So business support of higher education, while generally increasing each year, is probably not increasing as rapidly as the budgets of higher education institutions.

If there is a trend in the motivation for corporate giving it is towards *quid pro quo*. Corporations increasingly are concentrating their philanthropic gifts in the areas where their company headquarters are located or where they have plants. For all the words said to the effect that "we need to improve the area in which our own employees work," the underlying reason for this concentration of giving is more likely favorable local publicity and all of its ramifications. *Quid pro quo* rationale for giving by corporations has been recognized by many of our graduate schools of business administration and they have established "associate" programs. For a yearly fee of $1,000 to $3,000 a corporation might become an "associate" of the school and receive its professional publications, publications by individual professors, favorable recruitment treatment, and the privilege of sending executives to business seminars and the like. The establishment of this device should increase in the future at our graduate schools of business, but the level of membership or the fee will depend again largely on the corporate profit picture.

Some businesses conduct their philanthropy through a corporate foundation. The Exxon Education Foundation, the Ford Motor Company Fund, and the General Electric Foundation are but three which conduct their philanthropy through this means. When soliciting such corporate foundations all the rules for soliciting private foundations hold. These corporate foundations are generally not subject to giving primarily in areas where their business is concentrated. However, because of the 1969 Tax Reform Act there is a definite trend towards the dismantling of such corporate foundations, particularly the smaller ones, and the incentives for a business to conduct its philanthropy in this manner has now been lessened. A survey conducted by The Conference Board[1] of some 400 corporate foundations reported that perhaps as many as 200 corporate foundations had been terminated. One might then infer that the regional motive for giving by corporations may become an even more dominant factor in corporate support of private higher education in the future as corporate foundatioins are closed down.

One encouraging sign of corporate foundation giving is the trend towards grants which will help alleviate the financial pressure. Perhaps

because corporate foundations are run by businessmen they are beginning to inaugurate programs which will benefit those institutions which are making a sincere effort towards better fiscal management. The Exxon Education Foundation is one such corporate foundation with its grants to institutions who wish to employ management consultants to provide counsel on ways to operate more efficiently.

Individual Inter Vivos Capital Gifts

Seneca wrote "He who begs timidly courts refusal" and more and more educational institutions are beginning to recognize this. Thus we see major benefactions being made far beyond what development officers would have dreamed of ten years ago. To name but two, witness the magnificent Beinieke grants to Yale and the McGaw support to Northwestern. This trend should increase as financial pressure mounts and development officers become both more aggressive and sophisticated to meet the challenge of that pressure.

"Inter Vivos" capital gifts will continue to grow as more and more private institutions of higher learning launch capital campaigns. Here again, the launching of a capital campaign is usually *in response* to needs of an educational institution rather than a changing pattern of higher education *per se*. Such campaigns on a mass scale are relatively new fund raising efforts, although one might argue that an early capital campaign was launched by a Dartmouth alumnus in 1906 when Dartmouth Hall burned to the ground and he wrote to all alumni asking for contributions for rebuilding purposes. His words, famous in Dartmouth lore, were "This is not a call, it is a summons." Seneca would have been proud.

"Inter vivos" capital gifts should also continue to rise because private higher education is moving to what might be termed "rolling" capital campaigns. The plan is a simple one. Estimates are made for capital needs over a ten year period and are simply updated each year. While a professional fund raising council might not be hired — and usually is not — groups called trustees resources committees or alumni resources committees are formed for the express purpose of seeking, on an ongoing basis, significant gifts of an individual's capital either for endowment, buildings, general operating expenses, or bequests.

What motivates an individual to make a significant inter vivos gift to a university? George Brakely, long prominent in fund raising circles, claims that individuals give because they will get something out of it. No one can argue with that. The trick is to determine what that "something" is, for that is the key to motivation. Therein lies the challenge of the development officer. Does an individual have a tax or an estate problem? Does an individual give because he or she has a sincere desire to aid a cause? Does he give because he wants the recognition of giving? All who give do so because they get *something* out of it. It would be wrong to suggest that over the past years there is a changing pattern in what motivates an individual to make a significant gift of his or her capital. What would not be wrong to say is that development professionals are becoming both more sophisticated and more aggressive in seeking out

and motivating people towards such gifts. The need will continue as the need for ever greater funds continues.

Bequests and Deferred Giving

No one can deny that the gift most likely to please a college president is the immediate gift, the cash in hand gift, which permits the institution to go forward immediately with a new program or helps to bridge the gap between tuition and expenses. But if there is one beacon of hope on the higher education fund raising scene which shines with the most brilliance, it is in the area of bequests and estate planning.

Newer or younger institutions may take little solace in that statement! With younger alumni bodies they just cannot expect such a fund raising effort to reap much at all, with the exception of few institutions able to turn to parents or friends for this type of support. The established institution, however, must have a well established bequest and estate planning program if it expects to compete successfully for the available philanthropic dollar in the future.

The Council for Financial Aid to Education does not summarize the totals for bequests and life income annuities, but a look at Dartmouth College will emphasize the point. In the decade of the '50's Dartmouth received $11,016,000 (rounded) in bequests and irrevocable life income contracts. In the decade of the 60's that figure just about trebled to $32,-305,000. The figures for the first three years of the 70's read as follows:

1970 - 4,151,000
1971 - 4,250,000
1972 - 6,565,000

Similar institutions with similar programs can cite comparable results.

The reason for the growing popularity of bequests (the final service a man may render his alma mater) and deferred giving plans is simple: taxes. A tax deduction for charitable gifts was first enacted in 1917. The decade of the '50's saw considerable tax changes and liberalization of deductions for donors. And the 1969 Tax Reform Act did not change to any great degree the attractiveness of deferred gifts.

Few colleges or universities can afford to be without a deferred giving or bequest program. This form of giving because of the tax consequences and the complexity of the law is best handled by a lawyer in the employ (full time, if possible) of the institution, or is the chief responsibility of the development officer in the small institution. A deferred giving program permits the donor to make his gift, retain income for life, and realize significant tax benefits. Both the individual and the institution benefit in a very dramatic way. Thus as a source of funds it has much sales appeal.

If a single most important trend can be discerned in changing patterns of giving to private higher education, I believe it is the realization on the part of the institutions themselves that this aspect of giving holds the greatest promise for future growth. Thus they are becoming

much more aggressive in their approach to it (although I am not suggesting that an advertisement for the bequest program be placed in the obituary section of the *Alumni Magazine* as was suggested by the Development Office at one institution with which I am familiar!).

People

The need for top-flight people responsible for raising money from the private sector is becoming recognized increasingly by administrative officers and trustees. Accordingly salaries and recognition are going up at a remarkable rate, and the individuals being attracted to the profession are less likely to be deterred from entering it for those two reasons. This is particularly true in the area of bequest and estate planning where, as already mentioned, tax lawyers are in demand. But it extends beyond that specialty. At one prominent eastern institution a Budget Task Force composed of students, faculty, administrators and alumni recommended that for the next five years the rate of growth of the institution be pared to 5% per year. The one area singled out as being necessary to grow (both in terms of numbers and the salaries needed to attract top-flight people) was development — that area was recommended to grow 9% per annum.

With status and salaries improving, faster in many cases than salaries in other institutional administrative areas, comes also an upgrading of the quality of people. Commensurately, both the Council for Advancement and Support of Education and private firms are conducting seminars of a far more intensive and sophisticated nature than they did even five years ago. The consequences for the profession and the institutions which those in the profession represent must be beneficial. If not, the pluralism so valued in American higher education will be in even more trouble than it is today.

Supportive Activities

If it is to maximize its results, fund raising cannot exist as an entity unto itself. There is a definite trend within higher education development for better research methods, research on foundations, corporations, and, above all, alumni and friends. Much of the research deals with "where the money is." In the case of alumni this is not sleuthing in a devious sense. Ninety-nine percent of my colleagues would reject Pope's advice: "Get place and wealth with grace; if not, by any means get place and wealth."

Nevertheless, development officers are turning to public sources of information such as Securities and Exchange Commission reports and proxy statements (both public documents) to ascertain alumni wealth with more regularity. The results of the increasing sophistication in the field would seem to be evident in the larger "inter vivos" gifts and bequests — not to mention the many larger gifts to annual giving campaigns — which, as mentioned earlier, are being made to our private institutions. The development officer is finally becoming aware that he and his volunteers or colleagues must go where the money is.

Beyond research as a "supportive" service to the development of-

ficer, is the adjunct services for alumni. If alumni and friends are to be expected to support the institution then the institution should be expected to provide them something in return. They might be put to some gratifying work, such as student recruitment, alumni club service, serving as fund raisers for the annual giving campaign, and so forth. Our universities are recognizing this and asking their alumni to involve themselves in more ways than simply financial support.

Yet another trend is that the institutions are serving their alumni in terms of continuing education. It is becoming an increasingly ridiculous notion that education is only for the young. As a result more and more institutions are upgrading their alumni magazines to reflect intellectual interests. Such ideas as continuing education, institutes for men and women in the professions to provide them with an intellectual *re*stimulation, vacation tours which offer both fun and intellectual enlightenment, and the like are being undertaken with refreshing frequency. From a fund raising standpoint these ancillary services can only help to stimulate support of our private institutions.

Summary

- There is no doubt a financial crisis confronting private higher education in America. Part of the answer lies in more aggressive and more sophisticated fund raising efforts directed towards the private sector of our economy.
- Steps are being taken in the area of annual giving which should reawaken the alumni will to give. Fewer people are giving more; a greater percentage are going to have to give even more.
- Foundation giving to private higher education should increase—but with it comes the inherent danger that our universities will add costly programs as a result of foundation "seed" money that will inflate the budget once the money runs out.
- Corporate giving is likely to continue to rise but at a less rapid rate than institutional budgets unless the economy picks up considerably. American higher education has a considerable job to do to educate the corporate benefactors of their work. *Quid pro quoism* is likely to increase and corporate "foundations" will become less a vehicle for corporate giving.
- Individual "inter vivos" capital giving will no doubt increase as development people become more sophisticated in their salesmanship, and because of the tax laws pertaining to such gifts.
- The most likely area to benefit American higher education in terms of long range support is that of bequests and life income contracts in their many forms. Both the individual and the institution can benefit enormously from irrevocable "inter vivos" trusts.
- The individuals being attracted to the development field are

becoming both more aggressive and more sophisticated. Salaries are increasing as top academic and administrative officers are coming to realize that the calibre of their development officers is vital to the solvency of their institution.

— Ancillary programs involving alumni and friends are burgeoning. Private institutions are involving their alumni increasingly in non-fund raising activities. These institutions are enacting continuing education programs. The off-shoot of this is likely to be increased alumni support.

How American higher education will be affected by the changing patterns of giving is almost a moot question, for the ultimate answer lies in how other areas within higher education change. For now, it can be said that development officers who can best perceive donor reaction changes and relate them to ongoing needs of higher education will be the men and women in the position best to serve their institutions. Whatever the outcome, one thing is certain, trends of private support will continue to have an impact on the shape and direction of American higher education.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Statement contained in promotional brochure published by John Price Jones Co., 1968.

[2]Jacques Barzun, "Foundation Folklore," *Alma Mater*, Volume XL: No. 6, May 1973, page 5.

[3]Statement in confidential letter to major foundation. The author prefers to remain anonymous.

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Change in Higher Education: Piecemeal or Comprehensive?

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Change is a troubling concept. So troubling that college or university change is usually a reaction to unrest and dissatisfaction within the institution or to pressures from the outside community. Some administrators, trustees and faculty view change with alarm and suspicion, and consider it a deterioration of standards. Others assume change indicates progress and therefore benefits the institution and the larger community.

Recent times have seen one change follow another in colleges and universities. Administrators and trustees react to student unrest and funding problems; they revise curricula and adjust calendars. They eliminate parietals and adapt admission standards, believing the result will be a sound and fundamentally different institution.

Our question is this: Are these truly significant changes or are we trying to graft new arms and legs on the same old body? What difference do such changes make, for example, in the significant issues of injustice, human dignity or new leadership? We are not advocating that the institution be preserved as it is, as it has been shaped by tradition and convention. We are suggesting instead that the college and university must examine possibilities of a different and comprehensive kind of change. Otherwise, institutions of higher education will spend increasingly more effort making piecemeal changes which will be of little consequence when viewed from a larger perspective. In effect they will be like the firemen putting out brush fires while the family perishes in the burning house at their backs.

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A Different Kind of Change is Possible

Two kinds of change are possible for individuals, disciplines, institutions, even whole societies. One is the change taking place within the boundaries of the framework governing an individual, institution, or other unit. This change is piecemeal and reactive. The other change possible removes the boundaries; it constructs an alternative framework to replace the old. This kind of change is significant and comprehensive. Replacing the framework changes all that the framework touches or colors.

For example, when the framework of eighteenth century mercantilism was replaced by Adam Smith's *laissez faire* economic system, comprehensive change occurred with widespread implications for trade, naval power, and the fates of entire nations. In contrast, the so-called radical economic changes recently offered to deal with today's inflationary-style depression result in piecemeal change of minor significance.

The focus of this colume is higher education, but the principles which determine how change occurs in educational institutions are the same as those which govern change everywhere. As in other areas, change in education is almost always within the framework of a prevailing theory or model which has imposed conceptual boundaries on what is possible. Within such boundaries change never fundamentally alters or replaces. Progress is merely an elaboration of the framework itself when a discipline or institution remains in the existing framework.

What we are describing is similar to what happens when dealing with a closed system. Basically, it means that the traditional methods of knowing do not incorporate methods for challenging or questioning the constructs which serve as the framework for all inquiry within that system. With no way to challenge the basic construct, change will be piecemeal and usually in reaction to problems and crisis. Change achieved in this way may seem vast to those who operate within the same conceptual boundaries, but it will prove insignificant compared to what happens when the boundaries themselves are discarded.

To illustrate, look at the construct of *normality*. Some psychologists accept this construct without question, and it becomes the framework within which they operate as scientists. What people regard as new discoveries, advancement, and significant change are always made within this same context. There is a different way to view psychological "progress". Our position is that current advances and discoveries are actually an elaboration and refinement contained within the psychological paradigm, and the expert is unable to exceed or challenge the boundaries of his initial construct. As Klee has stated:

> . . . we psychologists possibly made our fundamental mistake when we thought we saw an organism acting in an environment and forgot to realize that this thought is subject to as much error as any other hypothesis in philosophy or science. (Klee, 1950, p. 7)

It is essential to recognize paradigms are not changed simply by conducting critical experiments or discovering the new fact. They are changed only when challenged by a competing construction. When the basic construction remains, all that is possible is an elaboration or differentiation within that construction. This is very much like the statement by George Kelly in *The Psychology of Personal Constructs:* that the individual's personal constructions are merely elaborations within a superordinate construct. This construct, Kelly says, cannot be altered by changing a fact or specific element within the construction, but only by changing the superordinating construct itself. (Kelly, 1955) As an individual, if my purpose is to avoid failure I may operate in many different areas, but always within the boundaries of avoiding failure. If I can be persuaded to seek a different purpose - to grow and develop - a total and significant change or a reordering of all the facts and specific instances within the construct would result. The individual then begins to seek new experiences and even to view failure as a learning experience.

We point this out because we think it is helpful to recognize that Kuhn, who focused on scientific change arrived at conclusions similar to those of Kelly, who focused on personal change. Comprehensive change - personal, scientific, or other - requires altering or replacing the framework governing the area in which change is deemed necessary. All significant change in the past was achieved in this way and actually occurred suddenly, with revolutionary completeness, even though we thought it happened with gradual incremental steps. To change or replace the framework, whether it is called paradigm, construct, model, or theory, affects everything within that framework, and change will be sudden and comprehensive.

The clearest examples are in science. Significant change has not come about through *the* crucial experiment or *the* single new fact, as many believe, but has burst forth because the entire paradigm was challenged and found wanting. The greatest challenge was to the method-of-knowing itself when the underlying purpose of theoretical physics shifted from an attempt to discover the fixed nature of things to the purpose of observing the relationships between initial conditions and outcome. The implications for epistemology and for science are still not fully recognized. Those clinging to the old model daily develop new techniques and perfect new equipment, only partially aware that the significant advance was the development of a new theory which dictates the nature of future techniques, equipment and methods.

In business we have observed the process of changing frameworks the past decade or two as whole industries shifted from a manufacturing model to a marketing model. This shift exemplifies truly comprehensive change because it caused restructuring of entire business organizations. Basic to a manufacturing model is the assumption that manufacturing a product or providing a service is the nature of the business. The organization focuses first on the product, its quality and its cost. With the aid of flow charts and critical path techniques, management can track product,

production efficiency, and cost. This emphasis on product-quality-cost determines what decisions are made, what situations become problems, and the nature of the options available to that business.

In contrast, when companies shift to a marketing model, they operate from the classic assumption that meeting the needs of consumers is the nature of the business. The organization works to identify the market in terms of consumer needs and to gain a share of the market. The focus now is consumers, their needs, the markets. The first questions will be: Are there consumer needs not being met? What percentage of the market does our company have? What percentage of the market is available? The company which shifts the framework from a manufacturing to a marketing model achieves comprehensive change within the organization. Management asks different questions, defines different problems, and constructs different options. There is a dramatic shift of focal point and activity evaluation.

Similar shifts can occur in a service business. The airlines are an example. They once viewed their business within the framework of flying passenger miles. At some point they shifted their business framework to that of meeting travel and recreational needs of people. The result of this shift was that the airlines purchased hotel chains and car rental agencies and became involved in other activities oriented to tourism and recreation.

The same kind of change can be seen historically as man shifted his personal framework or construct from a belief that his behavior was God-directed to the view that his behavior was directed by his intelligence and thinking. This shift permitted and even dictated changes not possible within the old framework of God-devil-in-man. As a result men changed their explanations and theories of behavior and changed their view of religion and science. All of these shifts of models and paradigms brought about comprehensive change because they affected and colored everything included within the framework of the model or paradigm. Thus, the most fundamental change is of the framework itself. Comprehensive change does not come about by adding to facts developed under the older paradigm, but through replacement of the paradigm. Thomas Kuhn and George Kelly both developed this thesis at some length in their respective disciplines. We believe that it is consistent with their positions to state that change will be both comprehensive and sudden when the framework itself is involved. Our instances from science, business, psychology and economics demonstrate the accuracy of this statement.

We must recognize that all people work within a framework and at all times function or operate within that framework, even when it is implicit and unrecognized. When the framework is no longer adequate another is constructed to take its place, or chaos and turmoil result. The paradigm is rarely challenged while it is working. When it no longer serves, people begin to experience uncertainties and dilemmas. Paradoxes

in disciplines or institutions provoke recognition of a framework that no longer functions adequately. Practitioners become aware of limitations in their discipline because the theoretical model does not enable them to perform effectively in their field. At this point it becomes possible to look at the framework itself and to give serious consideration to an alternative framework.

With some historical perspective, it is possible to see that a succession of frameworks have been exhausted and replaced in one discipline after another. Science is an example. From the beginning of formal science, the basic assumption within the framework of the discipline was that science dealt with entities which could be named or categorized. The criteria referred to the properties and qualities which made these entities distinct from one another. This fundamental assumption changed in a later period, affecting also the implicit purpose within the discipline. With the change, science viewed itself as dealing with relationships, and the purpose of the scientist was to discover the unobservable construct which explained what he was not able to observe directly. Note, as the discipline became more advanced the criteria had to change also, and the scientist referred to constructs which provided causal explanations for relationships. At a later time in a new framework science saw itself as dealing with the construction of initial conditions and observing the consequent results. The purpose here was to maximize desirable outcomes and minimize the undesirable with criteria referring to the results the discipline or practitioner wished to achieve.

Clearly, the big question to which a discipline is addressed, the problems its practitioners define, the alternatives they consider practical or even conceptually possible, all depend upon the framework which governs that discipline. To illustrate , look at the simple biological construct *tree*. In the first scientific framework or paradigm, which dealt with entities to be named or categorized, *tree* is a whole entity which can be separated into discrete parts based on particular properties and qualities of the parts. (Leaf, branch, root, etc.) *Tree* can also be viewed as a whole class of entities, and the class itself can be subdivided on the basis of properties. (Elm, maple, pine, birch trees, etc.)

To continue our illustration, *tree*, within the second scientific framework when science dealt with relationships, is part of the larger whole of nature itself. It becomes possible to discover many causal relationships between sun, soil, water and *tree*. In the third and final scientific framework, science saw itself as dealing with the construction of initial conditions and observing the consequences, and *tree* is viewed as the consequence of certain, initial conditions. Within this last framework, the scientist asks himself what outcome or result he desires, what kind of tree he wishes to develop. This approach takes him into breeding new plants, developing hybrids and mutations. The issue of scientific criteria is particularly intersting here, for the criteria refer to the result desired instead of something assumed to be inherent in the nature of *tree*.

It is obvious that in similar fashion it is possible to take the construct *particle* and view it in radically different ways. Depending on the current scientific framework within which the word is used, the scientist would ask different questions and structure his research in different ways. His problems would differ and his options would change from one paradigm to another. *The boundaries for science, as well as for philosophy, mathematics or any other discipline, are inherent in the framework which governs the discipline, not in the nature of the topic with which the discipline is concerned.*

General Indicators of Limitations in Frameworks

In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* Kuhn shows the reader a clear picture of the chaos which precedes the running out of a paradigm or framework. Although this picture focuses on science, it can be generalized because it accurately represents the turmoil which precedes the death of prevailing frameworks in other disciplines, institutions, and cultures. In almost every instance the framework which is no longer adequate, which will no longer serve as a guide, displays the following characteristics:

1. General confusion and sometimes crisis
2. Questioning of authority
3. Fragmenting of methods

The turmoil accompanying the death of a paradigm in a specialized discipline is also true of society in general. The institution of higher education cannot be separated from society so it too is subject to the chaos and turmoil of dying paradigms. Our question becomes: Does the controlling framework for higher education and for the larger society still function adequately? It is impossible to avoid asking this question when we see that all institutions in our society are simultaneously in disarray and are increasingly unable to fulfill their original purposes. This is true of self-government, the church, and education.

Universities traditionally base their claim to authority and respect on the ability to lead the search for universal truths, to train the leaders of tomorrow, to provide the certain answer, and to deal with finites. These claims are subject to growing challenge and doubt, yet no one knows what alternative role the institution should fill. Consequently colleges experiment with curricular structures, expansion into the community, interdisciplinary programs, and calendar changes without asking if these are the most essential changes to make when problems are due to the failure of the framework which governs the entire institution.

Turmoil and confusion in the social structure are apparent to almost every American. The small farmer is personally aware of a crisis in the economy; the economist must face dilemmas created by simultaneous inflation and unemployment; parents can neither understand nor condone the life style of contemporary youth, but can offer no acceptable alternatives.

This confusion is mirrored in higher education. The inability to

decide whether his task should be teaching or publishing is only one of the dilemmas facing today's faculty member. Who can say that a 4-1-4 calendar is more advantageous than a 3-3-3?

Confusion about the mission of education is reflected in the impending crisis of skyrocketing costs. What lies behind rising expenses? Many factors, of course, but probably the most important and least questioned is a new profession which colleges have introduced, that of educational administration. College administrators are no different from administrators in other professions. They too measure their influence by the size of their organizations, the number of people they administer, and the size of their budgets. The result is construction of costly educational bureaucracies within our schools.

Another example indicates the depth of uncertainty into which educational institutions have sunk. Colleges and universities, founded to serve a particular purpose, often espouse a different purpose in their public statements, while still another and third purpose is implicit in the decisions they make and the activities they pursue. One such college might have been founded to "educate the young." The stated purpose may be "to advance the frontiers of knowledge and to improve the quality of teaching." However, an examination of the decisions and activities at the institution may reveal that the college is operating as if its purpose is "to preserve and enhance the image of the institution." Athletic programs, physical plant development, faculty research grants and publications are more likely to serve the unstated third purpose than either of the other two.

Those who worked in colleges and universities in the late 1960s and dealt mainly with young people, and those who follow the daily news are constantly reminded that the old ways no longer work and the old values no longer unify. The problems and uncertainties now besetting the college and university indicate the old framework is no longer sufficient to resolve dilemmas or explain paradoxes. The controlling paradigm no longer permits the institution to meet problems posed by an environment which the institution in part created; the institution is no longer able to "explore" an area in which it previously led the way. (Kuhn, 1962, p. 90)

Questioning of authority. Traditional sources of authority and seats of power remained essentially unchallenged until recently. Twenty-five years ago the family was still a strong central unit. The church was a powerful and final authority in most Western societies. Unions had only recently mounted a real threat to management and ownership, and there was no serious doubt about the authority of the law and its representatives. All of these institutions are being questioned today. The traditional power structures are breaking down in society and crumbling in higher education.

Who sets policy and makes the definitive decision in the university? The board of trustees? Presidents, administrators, or faculty? Students? An outside body or power group? More significant still is the almost total defection of higher education from its traditional position that fina

authority rests in knowledge itself and that the institution is both repository for accepted bodies of knowledge and source of newly discovered knowledge. Absolute knowledge was more than a phrase at one time; it was an academic way of life. Today it is not unusual to see whole programs within our colleges and universities not oriented toward either transmission or discovery of knowledge but oriented, instead, toward providing the student with new experiences. T-groups, sensitivity training, and confrontation methods are all acceptable "educational experience" in many institutions today.

Fragmenting of methods. The splintering off of methods and mini-methods, the proliferation of systems constructed to meet a growing laundry list of problems, are phenomena typical of government agencies, bureaucracies, business, and science today. This kind of fragmentation promotes overspecialization and accompanying loss of perspective. Few practitioners have the ability to work with interrelationships leading toward unification of their own discipline, much less the integration of related disciplines. The excesses are particularly apparent in medicine where the physician has moved away from general practice toward increasingly narrower specialization.

Universities are particularly vulnerable to the hazards of excessive fragmentation because the structure of the organization promotes the overspecialization seen in academic disciplines everywhere. The process of categorizing, differentiating, and further refining is an inevitable consequence of the knowledge system which universities perpetuate. It never has been a system for generalizing and unifying.

If we consider education as walking on a broad plain, then colleges and universities put people to digging in separate shafts labeled biology, chemistry, psychology or sociology. Forks, branches and subdivisions develop, as each shaft is dug deeper, and the perspective of individuals digging in the shafts diminishes accordingly. The diggers experience a constant narrowing of vision, and the branching of shafts within shafts continues. In the shaft labeled biology, twenty-five or more sub-shafts divide into separate specialties. In each sub-shaft diggers find their own small nuggets of truth, never asking how their nuggets are related to others. Students in these institutions walk the plain of education until they fall into a shaft, and graduate school is a move into sub-shafts.

Education has become a narrowing process. Special jargon and methods separate people inside and outside of disciplines, and special groups compete to establish which group is most important and powerful. It is exciting to imagine the consequence if education could be like climbing a mountain where the student gains perspective and wisdom by climbing always higher. If education were changed in a fundamental and comprehensive way, it could become an opening up process permitting students to recognize more and more interrelationships. Then the educated man would be able to unify and integrate what others see only as separate and unrelated.

Specialization, departmentalization, the separation of knowledge, and reliance on expertise have gone too far. Educators are aware that the institution has paid too high a price for any possible benefits gained following this route. In an attempt to restore unity schools have tried combining departments, permitting students to construct their own majors, and instituting other inter-disciplinary courses of study. Anyone close to these programs soon recognizes the problem inherent in trying to put together what has been separated. Programs or specialties once conceptualized as discrete become rigidified and proceed in only one direction, toward further refinement and elaboration.

Obviously there are problems in the institutions of higher education, in academic disciplines, and in other institutions within the larger society. These problems are indications that the framework itself is in trouble. We go beyond this and say that they also indicate trouble in a more general framework than those we have discussed. We suggest that *all institutions and academic disciplines and societies in the Western world share a common governing framework, the framework for information and knowledge*, and this is the framework which is in trouble. Significant change and new knowledge can come about only by changing the framework within which that knowledge is produced.

As current academic and social frameworks are extended, their inadequacies become manifest in growing confusion. The fact that all our institutions are simultaneously in trouble indicates, we believe, a problem in knowledge itself, because knowledge is the paradigmatic construct upon which all society, and higher education especially, are built.

Indicators of Trouble in the Framework for Knowledge

Are there indications that the Western epistemological model is running out? We join thoughtful people who ask if the framework for knowledge has been extended and elaborated to the point at which its inadequacies cannot be explained away as incomplete knowledge, lack of proof, failure to validate, or as due to other equally unsatisfactory reasons. The indications of trouble in the framework of knowledge are the same as those for all other frameworks. The following examples emphasize our point that the paradigm or framework for knowledge is running out.

Confusion, paradoxes and dilemmas abound in current knowledge. How do we know what to believe? The so-called knowledge explosion is merely an instance of elaboration within a paradigm. The paradigm establishes boundaries within which questions are asked and information is produced. The limitations of the paradigm become more obvious as questions become increasingly specific and refined, and information refers to minute detail. The professional and the lay person are both plagued by inconsistencies because the way they explain *how* they know cannot account for paradoxes, contradictions, and dilemmas in *what* they know.

One such inconsistency brings into question our entire method of

knowing and therefore all knowledge produced from this method. The accepted explanation for how we know is predicated on the separation of the knower and the known. According to Western man, properties or qualities can be discovered by observation or can be objectively perceived. Object-instrument-eye-mind are viewed as discrete systems or constructions. Thus, knowledge is about objects or persons which are viewed as separate from the knower.

This thesis does not hold if we bring together research findings from two disciplines which are usually considered unrelated. The psychology of perception, concerned with how we perceive, has directed research into the relationship between mind and eye. Theoretical physicists, using essentially the same methodology, have focused on the external world and on the phenomenon of observation, and their concern is interrelationships between object, instrument, and eye. Perceptual psychologists conclude that cognition and perception, the mind and the eye, cannot be separated or treated one independent of the other. The physicist concludes that the eye cannot be separated from the instrument nor the instrument from the object, and that these therefore do not constitute independent constructions. (Rainville, 1970)

If we accept these findings, no boundaries exist between mind-eye-instrument-object, and the method by which we "discover" truth and reality is seriously challenged. The prevailing method of knowing is embedded in the assumption that it is possible to separate the knower from the known, that scientific and intellectual "objectivity" is possible. But if we juxtapose evidence brought by this same methodology, we are left with a paradox which cannot be resolved, for the method is also the only method we have for verifying and evaluating this same information.

Erosion of authority. Yesterday's theories are today's myths. Today's facts are fast becoming myths. Never before have people been surrounded by such an impressive volume of new information and never before have they experienced so much doubt and distrust of the facts which surround them. A recent drama involving state officials and oil interests on one side and citizens of a small coastal community on the other side demonstrates how the authority of facts and information is eroded.

State officials and oil interests martialed their experts to produce and organize facts proving that an oil refinery was necessary, posed little risk to environment, and would be beneficial to the community. These facts might have gone unchallenged except that the community was a university town with its own share of experts. The local experts produced and organized other facts proving the refinery was not necessary, threatened the environment, and would offer no potential economic benefit to the community.

This same scenario is being played daily throughout our country. The average person recognizes that experts in any field can produce, organize, and use factual information to serve different purposes. The facts do *not* speak for themselves.

Fragmentation of methods and the proliferation of mini-systems are

thought by some people to be progress through expanding knowledge. Others see fragmentation and proliferation as the consequence of focusing on analysis, and do not view it as progress but merely as infinite differentiation within a basic construct or framework. To illustrate, ask yourself what a psychologist would likely do if granted one million dollars to study *mental illness*, a construct commonly used to explain deviant behavior of people. In studying a hundred thousand people classified as mentally ill, he will conclude that some people, perhaps 9,000, do not fit his criteria and therefore are not mentally ill. The 91,000 remaining would be differentiated into sub-groups, and later research would focus on one of these. Each sub-group would then be divided into people who do not fit the category and those who do, and these would again be sub-divided. At the same time, other social scientists would be developing methods for treating each sub-group and devising mini-theories to explain how each is different. Note, there would be no challenging of the initial construct *mental illness*.

Because few people in our culture and in our day question the construct *mental illness*, the gravity of the problem is better illustrated if we substitute *witches* for *mental illness*. If we accept *witches* as an explanation of deviant behavior, then it follows that we would need criteria for determining who are the witches. Investigation would show that some persons labeled *witch* do not meet the criteria and therefore are not witches. Those who do fit the criteria would evidence certain deviational differences leading to further subdivision within the *witch* construct. A logical conclusion would be different methods for explaining each of the sub-groups. Our point is: Present information and knowledge do not enable us to challenge our basic constructs, but only to differentiate within the construct we accept. This leads to fragmentation of methods and proliferation of systems.

The Emergence of Competing Knowledge and Information

Knowledge is the university's business. No matter what else people expect it to offer, they assume the institution will be a merchant of formal knowledge and a manufacturer of the most contemporary bodies of information. However, it is our belief that knowledge is also the source of difficulties which universities and other institutions are now experiencing. The indicators of trouble found in other frameworks are apparent also in the knowledge-information framework.

In addition to the indicators we have discussed, there is one final and conclusive trouble signal. This last indicator, more significant than the others, is the emergence of competing and incompatible bodies of knowledge, of anomalies in information itself. Such deviations do exist, and several have become accepted bodies of information.

Two very different instances of anomalous knowledge are those of acupuncture and quantum theory. Acupuncture cannot be explained or understood in the present structure of scientific knowledge, but it has been accepted and even taught in the classroom. Prestigious medical and

dental schools have included acupuncture in their curricula, not because it is logical or explainable within present frameworks, but because it works. They are willing to live with it, but treat it as a novelty.

Quantum theory is the second case in point. The physicist cannot ignore quantum mechanics because dramatic scientific break-throughs demonstrate that it, too, works. At the same time, a physics which basically repudiates the existence of time, space, matter, and causality is a puzzling anomaly. The physicist usually has no difficulty lecturing about this point of view. However, when he returns to the research laboratory he often falls back into the traditional framework. Quantum theory is antithetical to the research the ordinary physicist designs and pursues.

It is always possible to explain anomalies away, but when this happens people lose a valuable opportunity - the opportunity to recognize or identify a different paradigm. Anomalies are not explainable in the current framework. In fact, they are anomalous *because* they have sprung from a new or different framework. Anomalous new information has been incorporated into the programs of colleges and universities because it has enormous practical application, but it remains incompatible with the main body of theoretical knowledge in the institution. In addition, the anomalies are spread through different departments and disciplines, and each is viewed as the result of a novel technique or method rather than as symptomatic of a competing paradigm. The following chart demonstrates that a body of anomalous information is emerging.

CHART 1. AN ANOMALOUS BODY OF INFORMATION

	Traditional Information	Anomalous Information
HOW INFORMATION IS USED	**ATOMISTIC:** Information is discovered. It refers to: -Entities -Energy	**SYSTEMS:** Information is constructed. It refers to: -Symbols -Relationships
HOW INFORMATION IS ORGANIZED	**ACADEMIC:** Information is organized for the purpose of: -Predicting -Controlling -Understanding what is happening	**MANAGERIAL:** Information is organized for the purpose of making it happen by: -Directing activity through non-sensory feedback loops. (Management by Objectives) -Improving by identifying what is **not** happening. (Management by Exception) -Managing and getting results (Management Information Systems)
HOW INFORMATION IS PRODUCED	**SCIENTIFIC:** Information is used and transmitted as a body of valid fact: -To discover the way things are -Information is absolute -Emphasis is on content	**TECHNOLOGICAL:** Information is used to make a process explicit: -To get you from where you are to where you want to be -Knowledge is relative -Emphasis is on process

COMPARISON:

1. **Atomistic versus systems:** Traditional information refers to entities with the unifying construct of "energy." An example of the alternative approach is General Systems Theory which deals with symbols and relationships. The unifying construct here is "information."
2. **Academic versus Managerial:** The academic approach is based on the attempt to understand and explain what is happening. Information and knowledge have been about sensory experiences of the world, and represent man's discoveries of the natural world. In contrast, managerial information is concerned with constructing information to direct activities and to enable people to get the results they desire. What is NOT happening, what is MISSING, represents essential information.
3. **Scientific versus technological:** Scientific method is aimed at discovering natural laws and explaining what is happening. Words and symbols represent reality. Criteria are for how well one's explanations fit his sensory experiences. The technological method deals with the relationship between initial conditions and outcomes. Information is constructed to direct activity. Criteria are for desired outcomes, objectives, and actual results, and symbols refer to these.

How is it possible to produce a different kind of information? Antithetical bodies of knowledge cannot come about through elaborations of old paradigms nor can they be combined into a single unity. When new information cannot be integrated into the old framework and when this same information nevertheless gains general recognition and acceptance because it works, this indicates that a new framework for knowledge is emerging to challenge the old.

One significance of the alternative approach is that it represents the way purposeful people actually function, while the traditional approach represents explanations about man's inner nature. The differences are not merely technical or methodological, are not just differences between practice and theory, or the application of academic knowledge to a particular field, but represent a different method of inquiry.

These are controversial statements, but it is important to make the distinctions. Evidence of two informational frameworks - one representing the framework for all Western knowledge and the other representing an entirely new approach to man, society, and reality as we now know them - offer a potential for comprehensive and fundamental change in higher education and in all other institutions fashioned by the prevailing epistemological mode.

We are not the only people who recognize that the current body of information is inadequate and that the entire framework for knowledge itself is no longer effective. Again we refer to Kuhn, who finds the underlying epistemological paradigm askew in psychology and other disciplines, but says that he is unable himself to relinquish it as he cannot conceptualize a possible alternative. The old paradigm, he says, is carried along in the very structure of language, and he sees no hope of there ever being a way of communicating verbally without communicating and continuing the old paradigm at the same time. (Kuhn, 1962)

We do not believe that this is true, and contend that a new framework is not only conceptually possible, but that a competing framework of knowledge is emerging today. The competing framework is not emerging from the classroom, laboratory, or library, but from a result-oriented field which has historically made a different kind of demand on information. The implication is a knowledge revolution which will reshape every educational institution molded by the old framework.

Up to this point, we have discussed frameworks in general terms and have considered them in relation to *change* - the kind of change possible within a framework and the kind which comes about through changing the framework or meta-model which no longer unifies, coordinates and provides direction. What is this framework which no longer provides model problems and solutions for men, for the academic world, and for knowledge itself? It is time to be more specific about the framework, its nature and components, and the role it plays in personal, disciplinary and institutional functioning. We shall confine the discussion to a framework for knowledge, but our definition is a general one applicable to all frameworks.

The framework for knowledge consists of (a) the comprehensive assumption, which determines how information is produced; (b) the inclusive purpose, which determines how information is organized; (c) the implicit criteria, which determine how information can be used.

The prevailing framework is seldom questioned, especially in the institutions of higher education which both promote and perpetuate it. Usually it is unrecognized and implicit. The following chart will make explicit both the traditional framework and the anomalous new one which has emerged as a challenger.

CHART 2. COMPETING FRAMEWORKS OF INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE

	THE TRADITIONAL FRAMEWORK	AN ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORK	DEMONSTRATING THE DIFFERENCE
COMPREHENSIVE ASSUMPTION: This determines how information is produced.	The **assumption** is that man can discover truth by observing and asking questions about what-is-there. —The boundary conditions for inquiry are the fixed inner natures of man, reality and society. —Information is about the nature of things.	The **assumption** is that information is constructed by asking questions from the vantage point of a framework. —Assumptions, purposes and criteria form the boundary conditions for asking questions. —Information is about alternative frameworks and alternative outcomes, or what could be.	Classical physics: Focus is on properties and qualities of entities, how they act and react. **versus** Quantum physics: Focus is on the relationship between initial conditions and outcomes. Different initial conditions produce different outcomes.
INCLUSIVE PURPOSE: This determines how information is organized.	The **purpose** of information is to discover, maintain, and restore the natural order. —Progress is getting a better fit between explanations or theories and the natural order, and removing causal agents which disrupt natural processes. —Focus is on identifying what **is** happening.	The **purpose** of information is to direct activity toward desired results. —Progress is working with more comprehensive assumptions and more inclusive purposes, and discarding ineffective methods and programs. —Focus is on identifying what is **not** happening.	Medicine: An attempt to understand disruptions of natural processes, to identify and remove causal agents in order to restore and maintain natural processes. **versus** Health: Emphasis is on improving and becoming, yielding toward a state which has not yet been achieved. Identify programs which produce desired results and discard programs which do not.
CRITERIA: These determine how information is used.	**Criteria** are used to evaluate what is assumed to exist out there; i.e., properties, qualities, and conditions in organism and environment.	**Criteria** are used to: —Evaluate results. —Monitor progress toward desired outcomes.	Psychometrics: Criteria are for properties and qualities within the person. **versus** Edumetrics: Criteria are steps or critical indicators which are used to monitor progress toward some desired outcome.

If the alternative framework becomes dominant and is chosen by an institution or discipline, there will be a difference in the way that person or organization functions. Institutions of higher learning can shed the old model. Should they choose to operate in the alternative framework, change would be total and comprehensive. The new institutions would operate from the alternative premise that information determines what happens and that it is possible to change information and knowledge by starting with different assumptions, purposes and criteria.

The framework for knowledge functions as a meta-model which establishes boundaries for subsidiary paradigms. To illustrate the difference, consider how subsidiary frameworks affect the selection and functioning of leaders. There is a framework which shapes leaders and from which leaders shape institutions. We shall make explicit the current framework for leadership, note some of the consequences, and make comparisons with an alternative.

Today's framework can be stated as follows: (1) *Comprehensive Assumption:* Individuals have properties and qualities which determine their actions. (2) *Inclusive purpose:* to identify evidence that desirable properties and qualities exist within the person chosen for a position of leadership. (3) *Criteria:* these refer to the properties and qualities under consideration. Examples are honesty, intelligence, and sincerity.

Let us examine how this framework is employed and the implications it has for leaders in higher education. To be specific, a selection committee is established and immediately lists its criteria for selecting the new president. Some of the criteria will certainly be scholarship, advanced degrees, publications. The committee will also look for evidence of intelligence, wisdom, and other worthy personal traits. It may also be concerned with the candidate's appearance, his use of language, his command over group situations, and administrative ability as displayed in previous administrative posts.

Next, for example, look at the young man who wishes someday to be president of a college or university. Aware of the criteria which selection committees are using throughout the country, this person would endeavor to earn a doctoral degree, write a book and publish an article. He would become articulate, learn to handle group discussions well, etc.

These criteria will become the critical indicators or objectives which direct his activities and by which he evaluates his progress. He will develop skill in scholarly pursuit, writing, articulate speech, and group discussion. If selected, these are the skills and techniques he brings to the educational institution. What takes place within that institution or organization will be a function of the skills the person has brought to the job.

In contrast, let us put forth an alternative framework and see what difference it makes: (1) *The Comprehensive Assumption:* Leaders are responsible for constructing and organizing information in order to get results. (2) *Inclusive purpose:* to look for leaders who give evidence that they know how to construct and organize information focused on results.

(3) The committee selecting the new university president would establish *criteria* based on the outcomes or results it expects from his leadership. Because it wishes to see the university totally preoccupied with results, outcomes and accomplishments, it would ask: What are the evidences of student growth and development? What difference does the university make? If it did not exist, would anything be different?

In terms of specific internal results, the committee would want evidence that the candidate knows how to construct systems resulting in:

- Constant improvement - each person in the organization is fed the information he needs to maximize creativity and innovation.
- Integrated but decentralized problem-solving and decision-making.
- Fair and equitable treatment of all members of the organization.
- Continuous and open evaluation of the methods used to get results.

If these were the criteria, the person interested in becoming a leader would develop related skills and techniques. Personal skills and techniques are not so much a function of one's personal properties and qualities as they are of the specific targets he has set for himself, and the experiences he has gained in achieving these targets. The organization led by a man possessing these skills and techniques would become a different kind of organization or institution from those guided by other leaders.

In the traditional framework for leaders, what is happening is viewed as due to the inherent nature of people or the results of conditions in the environment. The leader endeavors to understand, order, and control what is happening, and consequently he focuses on developing good explanations. In contrast, leaders within an alternative framework accept responsibility for outcomes and results because it is they who construct the framework for the organization. If there is ineffectiveness in the institution, it is attributed to the framework which leadership has constructed.

In summary, it is possible to have a different framework for leaders; these frameworks will affect the selective process and determine the kind of people who are chosen. They will affect the kind of skills and techniques leaders develop and bring to the job. Finally, because of their different skills and techniques, there will be a different kind of organization. What is happening today within our institutions is not due to the unfolding of natural forces or the evolution of time, but is the elaboration and fulfillment of the governing framework.

Some Implications

We have presented and briefly developed two meta-models, the traditional and alternative, both generalized frameworks which are not specific to a single discipline or institution. The traditional model is the controlling paradigm or framework which presently shapes science, education, and other institutions as we know them today. The alternative model represents a fundamental choice, making significant and com-

prehensive change possible within these same institutions.

Colleges and universities are perpetuating old frameworks and, presently, have no general method for challenging them or testing their limits. The new framework is not an absolute, but it can function as a guide for constant reevaluation of the assumptions, purposes, and criteria which establish the boundary conditions for all public and private aspects of human life. Thinking in this alternative way suggests vast implications for higher education. A few brief comments will illustrate.

A new method of inquiry. Scientific and technical research, inquiry in disciplines such as history and philosophy share a common methodology. All deal with givens and emphasize analysis and differentiation. The inquirer separates into classes, and identifies differences, categorizes and labels. This process keeps the focus on the specific instance, the isolated event, or the discrete fact. In contrast, the focus for inquiry within the alternative framework is on synthesis and similarities in the form of common underlying assumptions, purposes, and criteria. Implicit in the approach is a recognition that meaning and interpretation of any fact or event are functions of the context in which that fact or event is embedded. Inquiry, therefore, is a process of identifying the larger context, in this case the controlling paradigm, model, or framework.

General Systems Theory is an application of this approach. It is based on a recognition of the significance of the whole in determining the characteristics of the parts, and of the significance of the paradigm as a superordinating construct. The systems theorist knows that he cannot investigate parts and pieces independent of the larger context within which they occur. Each system is but a small system within a larger one. To follow the general systems approach to its logical conclusion is to ask the question: What is the system which includes both the inquirer and that into which he is inquiring? (Churchman, 1968)

In the alternative we present, there is no separation between knower and known, the knower (or inquirer) asks all his questions within the boundaries of a particular framework. What-is-known are the answers to these questions, and these also come under the umbrella of the same framework. In a similar way, no separation exists here between theory and practice. In the alternative model, theory refers to the constructing of new frameworks and the observation of outcomes. Practice involves choosing the framework which produces the consequences one desires and, subsequently, functioning within that framework. The framework is both the explanation for what is happening and also the guide for making something different happen.

A new method for change. In the past, people have assumed that small changes add up to an impact on the whole. The new model or framework assures that change will not be of bits and pieces, but will be of the whole itself. Comprehensive change brings about coordinated and appropriate changes in all the parts.

For 2500 years, inquiry has been directed at the givens or at what is assumed to be permanent. Only a few people have made a study of how change takes place. Those who did focus here soon recognized that change does not happen as they had always believed. Philosophers of science and historians of science study how scientific knowledge changes. Psychotherapists are concerned with how people change. Both groups recognize that it is not the special event or changed detail which brings about the significant change. All events and details are given meaning and interpretation by the superordinating constructs or paradigms in which they occur. People who study change recognize that fundamental change occurs when the superordinating construct or paradigm is changed. Change at this level changes everything else.

There can be no change without choice and no fundamental change without fundamental choices. Our thesis is that this can occur only if there are alternative frameworks, for all other change is reactive and piecemeal. Colleges and universities have been asking questions and providing answers within the boundaries of assumptions, purposes, and criteria which are no longer adequate. The task of today's educational institution is to construct the alternatives which will make comprehensive change possible.

A new focus for colleges and universities. The university functions today as the critic of society and the guardian of a monolithic structure of validated knowledge. Its task has been to add to this body, and to perpetuate and elaborate through publishing and teaching. There is little recognition that a direct relationship exists between the kind of information the university espouses and what is happening in the world today. The institution remains aloof and accepts no responsibility for what takes place outside its walls. It has been locked into a closed system which focuses on causal explanations and not on results. In such a system, limitations and difficulties can be explained away as due to the nature of man, or the inherent nature of social, economic political, and physical processes.

Should institutions of higher education choose to operate within the alternative paradigm, education, inquiry, and research could not be regarded simply as an adding on process. There would be a new recognition that proliferation or refinement of a framework, no matter how extensive, can never overcome the limitations inherent in its initial assumptions and purposes. Education would become an ongoing challenging process, focusing on the construction of alternatives.

In conclusion, two kinds of change are possible - piecemeal change within the framework, or comprehensive change of the framework itself. Frameworks do break down and general indications signify when a framework is in trouble. We see and experience many of these signs today in all areas of our lives. The most inclusive framework is that for knowledge and information, and this, too, is in trouble. There are signs that an alternative framework of information is emerging. If the alternative is chosen, significant change will occur in all areas, but especially

in higher education. There will be particular implications for the way inquiry will be conducted, and for the way change will be made in the renewed institutions. Consequently, our current beliefs about epistemology, inquiry, and change can no longer be seen as absolutes. Another framework has emerged to compete with the old. This is not the sort of competition which can be resolved by objective validation but by comparing their relative advantages and disadvantages.

Footnotes

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